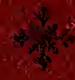
A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland

1833—1933

by

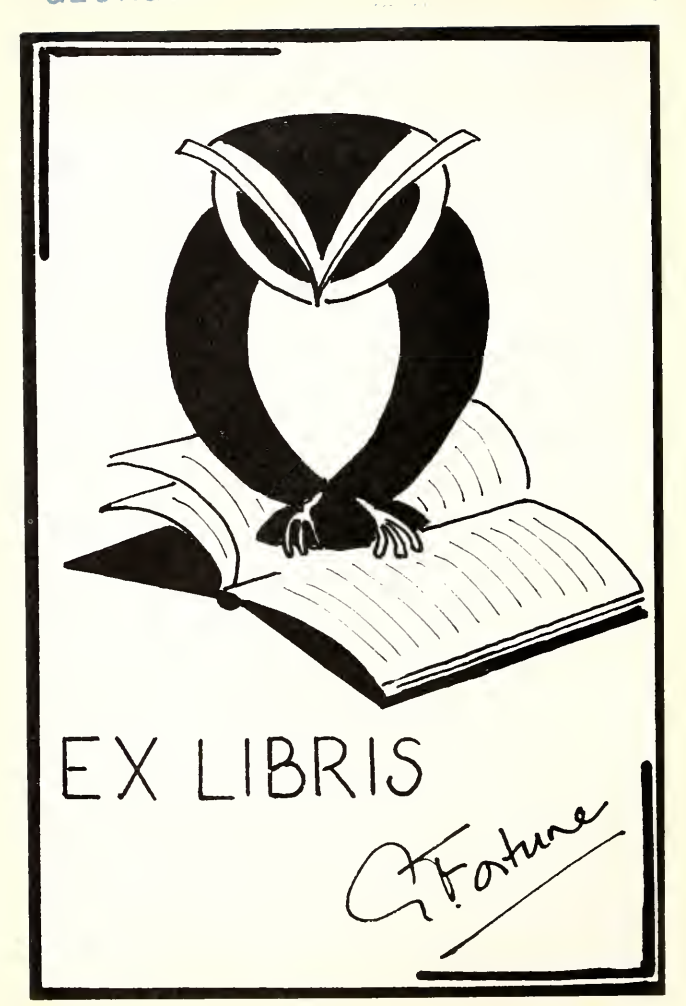
V. ELLENBERGER



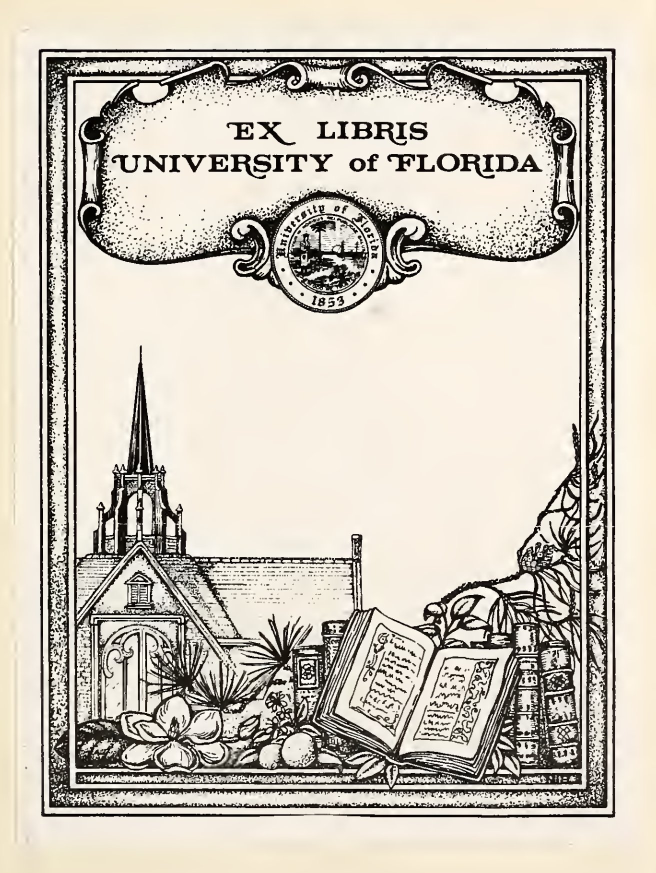
MORIJA

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Centenary Jubilee of the Basutoland Mission
1833—1933

A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland

(1833—1933)

by

V. ELLENBERGER
of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society

Translated from the French
by
EDMOND M. ELLENBERGER, B.A.

MORIJA
SESUTO BOOK DEPOT
1938

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PREFACE

Our aim in writing the following pages is to tell, after a century of missionary labour, the story of a Church in foreign lands and that of a Native tribe saved through the Gospel, as well as to bring to light some of the results obtained in Dark Africa by the social and political experiments of a benevolent and far-seeing Administration.

This book will deal, therefore, with political, sociological and educational, as well as purely spiritual problems. In this respect it will contribute its quota to the history of the awakening and development of South Africa during that period. We have to express our gratitude to the Directors of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society for having allowed us, for a portion of this book, the free and sometimes almost textual use of the erudite conclusions penned on that subject by the Rev. Ed. Jacottet, as published in his "Livre d'Or de la Mission du Lessouto," a book now out of print.

We have also made use of essays published in the same book by Revs. Frank Puaux and Jean Bianquis.

If we had to dedicate this book to anyone, we would choose those, both Europeans and Natives, who have carried on the work begun in 1833 by the three Frenchmen who in that year brought peace and salvation to

the Basuto tribe. May it be granted to them, as the great Pascal puts it, "to know how to render small things great through the majesty of Jesus Christ, who does so in us and who lives our life, and large ones equally small and easy through His omnipotence."

V. E.

Leribe, 6th December 1932.

INTRODUCTION

On the 28th of January 1829, the Committee of the Paris Evangelical Society, after an interview with Dr. Philip (of the London Mission Society), who laboured in South Africa, decided to start mission work in that part of the world. The same day Messrs. Bisseux, Lemue and Rolland were called before the Committee of the Paris Mission, then presided over by Admiral Ver Huell, and advised of the work that was to be entrusted to them.

On the 2nd of May 1829, these three missionaries were ordained in the Church of "Sainte-Marie" in Paris. They sailed for South Africa on the 18th of July 1829 and only reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 7th of October, after a voyage frequently perilous owing to gales and pirates. At the request of the settlers, Rev. Bisseux decided to take up his abode at Wagenmaker (the valley of the wheelwright) in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in order to attend to the wants of the slaves living in that Colony. On the advice of Dr. Philip, who had accompanied them from England, Revs. Lemue and Rolland moved towards Kaffraria; but, finding that territory already occupied by other mission societies,and the political situation there rather threatening, they decided to look for another field of labour, and made for

Bechuanaland, where, after many difficulties and trials, they were eventually able to start work at Motito.

In answer to an urgent call from them, the Committee of the Paris Mission, which had meanwhile sent a fourth missionary in the person of Rev.Pellissier, decided on the 7th June 1832, to strengthen the Mission in South Africa by sending Revs. Casalis and Arbousset, who were to be accompanied by an artisan-missionary, Mr Gossellin. No pains were spared to fit the new missionaries for their great task. Casalis and Arbousset served an apprenticeship as blacksmiths and carpenters, while Gossellin learned pottery, and the Committee provided the necessary outfits for shoemaking, and also rifles, barometers, cookery books, a manual on land surveying etc.

The young missionaries left France at the end of 1832 and, after escaping from a terrific gale, landed at the Cape on the 24th of February 1833, having been on the sea for three and a half months.

The news they received concerning the work at Motito might have disheartened them had they not had such unflinching faith in God. Notwithstanding the news, Revs. Casalis and Arbousset and Mr. Gossellin made up their minds to proceed in that direction, but an unexpected event altered all their plans. When they arrived at the Philippolis station, on their way to Motito, they learned that a very powerful Native chief had, it was said, sent some hundreds of heads of cattle to the Cape to buy a missionary, for he had been told that the missionaries came from there. That report was confirmed by a hunter, Adam Krotz, whose name belongs to the Mission. That hunter, in the course of his expedi-

tions, had come into contact with the chief,who,constantly at war with barbarian tribes, had asked him for advice. Krotz had told him that missionaries would no doubt be able to bring peace into his country. The chief had then sent the cattle in exchange for which he hoped to receive at the hands of the big master of the White people, men capable of instructing the Blacks. But the Korannas intercepted the herd of cattle and kept it for themselves. Adam Krotz, remembering his conversation with the chief of the mountain, proposed to Rev. Casalis and his companions to take them to the chief if they so desired. They accepted the invitation with joy. As they wrote to the Committee : "We think that we would have made an unpardonable mistake if we had refused to accept an appeal that was so remarkable. The finger of God was clearly visible ; it pointed out to us the road which we should take." And so they set out for a country, the existence of which was not shown on any map at that time.

It is in the territory of that heathen potentate, whose name appears for the first time in a letter written by Rev. Casalis to the Committee of the Mission on the 31st July 1833, viz. Moshesh, son of Mokhachane,that those valiant missionaries were to take up their abode and find the reward of a faith that nothing could discourage, and of a labour that nothing could cause to flag.

ERRATA

Page 85, line 7:	extreems *should read* extremes.
Page 92, line 7:	native *should read* naive.
Page 115, line 1:	sent *should read* send.
Page 121, line 28:	*Add the word* them *between* enable *and* to.
Page 124, line 29:	Schuh *should read* Schuch.
Page 138, line 5:	*Add the word* upon *between* looked *and* themselves.
Page 162, line 11:	Opening for it up *should read* opening up for it.
Page 163, line 1:	*Delete the comma between* by *and* before.
Page 188, line 19:	Similar *should read* similar.
Page 194, line 21:	them *should read* then.
Page 196, line 6:	an *should read* and.
Page 196, line 12:	grammer *should read* grammar.
Page 249, last line:	which *should read* whom.
Page 252, line 3:	payed *should read* paid.
Page 259, line 3:	*Delete the comma between* interests *and* of.
Page 282, line 22:	*Add the word* that *between* cases *and* the Government.
Page 289, line 2:	semi-independant *should read* semi-independent.
Page 296, line 28:	are of those *should read* are those of.
Page 303, line 17:	purpose *should read* purposes.
Page 307, line 15:	*Delete the word* had *between* have *and* the time.
Page 329, line 22:	*Close the bracket after the word* parish.
Page 330, line 25:	developed *should read* devolved.
Page 333, line 13:	Delete *the comma between* Buti *and* did.
Page 334, line 20:	heathens *should read* heathen.
Page 340, line 6:	cooperation *should read* co-operation.
Page 349, line 3:	Basutos "Association *should read* "Basutos' Association.
Page 360, line 24:	Bezencon *should read* Bezençon.
Page 361, line 14:	Bezencon *should read* Bezençon.
Page 367, line 6:	heathens *should read* heathen.

FIRST PERIOD
or Period of Foundation
(1833—1859)

I

The Commencement of the Mission
(1833—1838)

It was on the 28th June 1833 that our three pioneer missionaries, Arbousset, Casalis and Gossellin had their first interview with the chief Moshesh at Thaba-Bosigo.

That date is a memorable one for the history of the Basutos as well as for that of the French Mission. The latter was destined to contribute to a large extent to the protection and the salvation of that tribe which was only beginning to reconstruct its national life, which had been disorganised and almost destroyed by the invasions of Kaffirs from Natal and by the resulting awful devastations. It was barely eight or nine years since Moshesh had come and established himself in the famous natural fortress of Thaba-Bosigo; since, still a small chief without any real importance, he was fleeing the hordes of Batlokoas and struggling against the cannibals for his own life and that of his people. He had cleverly profited

by circumstances, and at the time that our story begins, his power and his influence had grown considerably and extended far away over the dispersed fragments of the old Basuto clans.

Moshesh was a man of remarkable character, of rare intelligence and of a personality of the first order. Of all the Native chiefs in South Africa, he unquestionably takes the first place. There are only two others who can in any way be compared to him as founders of a great and to some extent durable power, but the comparison is entirely in his favour. Before him, and the first in South Africa, Chaka, the famous Zulu tyrant, had built up a redoubtable empire, which became weaker under his successor, Dingaan, and by the great "Trek" or Boer exodus of 1838, but crumbled down definitely only in 1879 under the blows of a whole British army corps. A little later his rival, Moselekatsi (or better, Umzilikazi) founded, first to the north of the Vaal River, and later beyond the Limpopo, the martial kingdom of the Matebeles, which was destined in its turn to crumble down by the defeat and the death of Lobengula. These two entirely military empires have left nothing but a trail of blood in the history of South Africa. Based solely on war and the most absolute despotism, they have produced nothing useful and nothing that has survived. The assagai by itself can only kill and destroy.

Moshesh, on the contrary, with less eclat and military power, gathered under his sceptre, and, better still, created the Basuto nation. He had also, naturally, to begin with war ; how else could he have succeeded in bringing back unity where everything was disorder and chaos ? But for him war was only a means, never an aim.

He did not want to destroy ; he wanted to establish and to conserve. Alone among the African chiefs of whom history has kept the names, he realised that peace can accomplish more than war and that it alone is capable of assuring the existence of a State. His policy has consistently been to establish his power through conciliation and diplomacy rather than by force of arms. Son of a chief of no importance, wanting the prestige accruing from birth or from a long list of ancestors, he made use, with great astuteness, of the circumstances in which he found himself placed, to found the only native state in South Africa which has survived and has kept its unity. That success is due less to his personal courage, however real it may have been, and to the victories which he won in many battles, than to his diplomatic intelligence and chiefly to the greatness of his character.

Few sovereigns have understood to such an extent the advantage to be gained from events, even if they appear most unfavourable, and have known better how to judge of the relative value of the men on whom they had to reckon. He made use of all of them and became the instrument of none. At a period when the assagai reigned over the whole of South Africa, and when brute force alone was held in honour, he managed by wise diplomacy to conciliate such despots as Chaka and Moselekatsi and thus escape destruction. Later, the same sagacity led him to recognise immediatly the power of the British Government and to understand the advantage which he could derive from it for himself and his tribe. With remarkable tact and cleverness he made full use of the quarrels between the Boers and the British to in-

crease his own power and assure his own security, leaning then on the one, then on the other, with such shrewdness that they hardly perceived it.

That same wisdom, instinctive or reasoned, which made him understand the advantage to be gained from those with whom he dealt, showed him at once of how much importance to him and to his people the three strangers could be who had just arrived at his residence and declared themselves ready to establish themselves in his country. He was not long in judging of their character and their sincerity. From the very first he looked upon them as his friends, and they rapidly became his respected and influential counsellors.

Moshesh did not understand at that moment everything that they offered him and the true value of the Gospel. Clever as he was, that was manifestly impossible. But he instinctively discerned in their presence and in the mysterious force which they were bringing him, the only means of saving and uplifting his people. Several of his sayings bear clear proof of it. He did not see in the missionaries, as so many heathen chiefs have done and still do, merely men to exploit or cows to milk, to use a colloquial but expressive saying. Over and above the purely material advantages which the Mission was bound to secure for him, he perceived, vaguely perhaps, but surely, the dawn of a new order of things, a moral and spiritual force, the importance of which he was intelligent enough to realise. And if he was not able to make up his mind to accept Christianity for himself, with all its exigencies, if he waited until his deathbed to give it his adherence, he at least understood its social and humanitarian value ; and, taking everything into

consideration, he has always been its constant friend and protector. He not only made use of the influence of the Gospel, but we may say that, to a certain extent, he served it, and was even moved by it.

As stated above, it was on the 28th June 1833 that the three pioneers of the Gospel in Basutoland met Moshesh for the first time, at his fortress at Thaba-Bosigo. He was then forty-five of forty-six years of age. It seems that the bonds of a sincere affection and of a real confidence were formed without delay between the chief and his new friends. They promptly advised him of their plans ; they desired to establish in his country, in close proximity to his capital, a mission station for the education and evangelization of his people. As Thaba-Bosigo, for various reasons, was not convenient for the purpose, Moshesh set out with them, in the early days of July, in quest of a more favourable spot. The choice of the missionaries eventually fell on the valley which extends between the high plateau of Makhoarane (a spur of the Maluti mountains) and the isolated mountain of Masite. The foundations of the new station were laid on the 9th July 1833.

It would have been difficult for the missionaries to have made a better choice ; numerous streams flow down the flanks of the Makhoarane mountain and join a small river, the Lerato, which comes from the top of the Thaba-Telle, some fifteen kilometers distant. At that time groves of trees and shrubs covered the sides of the mountain and the banks of the streams. The view, although limited to some extent by the high, flat Masite mountain and by some hills, was fairly extensive. The valley of the Lerato afforded excellent ground for agri-

culture,and very fine pasturage was to be found in close proximity to it. The spot was uninhabited and Moshesh was quite prepared to cede it to the Mission. A village which would be under the immediate and exclusive direction of the missionaries, could be established there.

From the point of view of the future of the whole of Basutoland, that spot was no less excellent. If at that time Morija was close to the southern boundary of the country effectively governed by Moshesh and inhabited by his tribe, the rapid extension of the Basutos towards the south was soon to convert it into the geographical centre of the country. That privileged situation, which still exists to-day, has also largely contributed to make of it the real centre of the Mission. And as it is also in its vicinity that, beginning with Letsie, the great Basuto chiefs have fixed their residences, Makhoarane also became, and still remains to-day, the centre of the national and political life of the country.

In taking the missionaries to that spot, Moshesh was probably guided partly by political reasons. He wanted to place them between him and the pilfering Korannas who had so frequently threatened him and who had quite recently again attacked him in his own fortress at Thaba-Bosigo ; Morija would thus be an outpost from which one could observe the movements of the enemy and keep him in check. The presence of the missionaries would also help to keep the authority of Moshesh on that part of his territory. His power, although already considerable at that time, was far from extending over the whole of what constitutes the Basutoland of to-day. In the north the Batlokoa, or Mantaetis, inveterate enemies of Moshesh and his tribe, occupied the whole of the actual dis-

trict of Molapo, that is the country which up to about 1820 had been the real hereditary territory of the Basutos. In the south, with the exception of a few hordes of nomadic and pillaging Korannas, and very few Bushmen, there were then only a few isolated villages of Basutos and a small clan of Baphutis, over whom Moshesh exercised an ill-defined suzerainty. To establish his sons and their companions at Morija under the direction of Revs. Arbousset and Casalis, was in some way to take possession of the country and to declare that it belonged to him definitely.

From the point of view of the Mission, Morija also had the great advantage of extending the hand, so to say, to new French stations which were being established more towards the west. At about the same time, Rev. Pellissier, who had returned from the country of the Bechuanas, established the station of Bethulie, near the confluence of the Orange and the Caledon rivers. The London Missionary Society, after vainly attempting to prevail on a nomadic clan of Bushmen to dwell there, had ceded that spot to us. Fugitive Bechuanas, who had escaped in the massacre of their tribe by the warriors of Moselekatsi, had followed Rev. Pellissier there. The petty chief Lephoi was at their head. Bethulie was thus the second station of our Society established in the region of the Orange and the Caledon. Without ever having formed part of Basutoland proper, that station was, up to the time of its destruction in 1863, one of the important members of the Basutoland Mission, and during the first years at least, played an important role in its history.

Two years later, the Rev. Rolland was in his turn compelled to give up endeavouring to establish a stable

mission in Bechuanaland,where the Matebeles continued to devastate the country. He brought with him a number of Bechuana fugitives and established himself with them in a well watered spot situated to the north of the Caledon, about half way between Bethulie and Morija. That new station, on account of the seven fountains which it possessed, received the name of Beersheba (the Dutch name of Zevenfontein is often used for that spot in various documents of that period). Moshesh sent word to the missionaries that that spot was within his territory and that he would be happy to see them establish themselves there. It would probably have been very difficult for him to have justified his title to it ; but Rev. Rolland and his colleagues rightly thought that it would be in their interests to recognise his authority and to place themselves under his protection.

The Beersheba station, which was under the management of one of the most active and gifted missionaries that our Society has ever had, was destined to become, in a few years, the most important one of the Mission. From its inception, it had a position unlike any other. It was a spot, so to say, under the feudal tenure of the Mission, or rather of Rev. Rolland,over which Moshesh exercised a vague but yet real suzerainty. Rev. Rolland was simultaneously its minister and its temporal chief ; it was generally through him that Moshesh sent his orders to the inhabitants of the station. With his sharp political sense, the Basuto chief had thus known how to make use of the Mission in order to widen his power and to extend his authority. On their side, the missionaries, embued with the same political sense and a clear comprehension of the requirements of the circumstances, recognised

and frankly accepted an authority from which their work was to benefit, and which, besides, was useful to the whole country. Mr. Theal, the Cape historian, who as a rule was not much in favour of the South African missions, although we recognise that he always endeavoured to do justice to the French Mission, has gauged the position excellently when he wrote of our pioneer missionaries : "They saw the danger of anarchy and were doing all in their power to strengthen the influence and the power of the great chief who was not only the friend of the Missions, but also the only person capable of preserving order and peace in the whole country." (1)

However, Morija, the only station situated in real Basuto territory, had begun to develop. At first Moshesh had promised to reside there himself. It is doubtful whether he ever seriously intended doing so. But even if it were so, it did not take him long to recognise the inconvenience and more still the danger for himself and for his tribe, of his abandoning his natural fortress of Thaba-Bosigo to establish himself in a spot where he would have been in far less safety. He sent, however, his two eldest sons, Letsie and Molapo, to reside there. The missionaries, who had confidently hoped to see the chief take up his abode near them, were naturally very disappointed, but they soon realised that it was far better that it should be so. The influence of Moshesh as a close neighbour would have completely outweighed theirs, and they would not have been able to carry out the plans which they had made. Having around them only a colony of young men whose character was still plastic

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(1) Basutoland Records, Vol. II p, xxix.

and malleable, who had been placed purposely under their authority and over whom they, at the desire of the chief himself, had certain control, they could more easily give to their establishment the Christian character which they wished, and direct it in accordance with their views and their convictions. The missionaries were thus not at the chief's, but at home ; that made a very big difference. The sons of Moshesh were not the chiefs of the missionaries, but rather their pupils and their dependents. Morija enjoyed a certain autonomy, less complete than that of Beersheba, but yet very real and such as none of the stations founded later in Basutoland (with the exception, perhaps, of Mekuatleng) has ever known. Even to-day there remains something of that privileged position. Great advantages, from which such a missionary as Rev. Arbousset made full use, accrued from that. It was that singularly special position which enabled him from the very first to launch his station in a unique direction and to give it a vigorous impulse. And thus Morija was able to become later the head and at the same time the heart of the whole Mission. It really seems that God's blessing rested on the decision of Moshesh to receive so frankly and without any afterthought, the emissaries of the Gospel.

For see, from the time of their arrival in Basutoland, the wars which up till then had devastated the country every year, ceased as if by a miracle. From 1824 to 1833, Thaba-Bosigo had been attacked on two or three occasions by formidable enemies ; even in 1826 or 1827, it was by a very narrow margin indeed that the only just rising power of Moshesh escaped being crushed at one blow by the troops of the Fingo chief, Matoane, which

catastrophe would have dragged with it the certain destruction of the whole tribe. About 1831 or 1832, an army corps of Moselekatsi had again attacked the mountain, and at the same time Koranna troops made incursions that took them to the very gates of Thaba-Bosigo. Being in possession of horses and fire-arms, those brigands had a dangerous advantage over the Basutos, who had none. From 1833 no attack of that kind ever took place again and no real danger threatened Moshesh and his people from that time. By a very natural reaction however regrettable it may appear to us, the Basutos took advantage of that unexpected peace and of their consequent recovery of strength, to carry war into the territory of their enemies. In one of his letters, dated the 20th May 1835, Rev. Casalis gives an account of the attack made against Koranna villages by the sons of Moshesh, and of the incursion made by that chief into the Cape Colony against the Kaffirs, whom he wanted to deprive of their cattle. This was the last offensive and unprovoked war made by Moshesh. Openly blamed by his missionaries, discouraged by a semi-failure and by the death of his younger brother, Makhabane, he realised even more than before, that peace alone could enrich his people and make his prestige rise, and after that his sole aim was to maintain peace. In the succeeding wars in which he was involved, he acted on the defensive, and except on one occasion, when his mistake was to cost him dearly and nearly brought about his downfall, he never took a decision to engage in war unless it were absolutely necessary. The considerable influence which the first missionaries had on him, and their wise counsels, had no doubt much to do with it, and we can see in it a first

fruit of the Gospel. But all the same, Moshesh would never have followed the advice of his missionaries so easily, had it not been that they really tallied with his own feelings and the lessons which experience had taught him.

In 1835 there existed thus to the north of the Orange River and on the banks of the Caledon, three French Mission stations, viz : Morija, in the territory proper of Moshesh ; Beersheba, a sort of missionary fief under his suzerainty ; and Bethulie, which was quite independent of him. These three stations, although very far from each other and so differently situated, already formed a well organised whole. The staff consisted of four ordained missionaries (Revs. Rolland, Pellissier, Arbousset and Casalis), and an assistant missionary (Mr. Gossellin), all imbued with the same ardent faith. The warmth and glow of their unified Christian enthusiasm are portrayed in the letters they wrote at that time and which would be well worth publishing.

In the meantime, in December 1833, English missionaries belonging to the Wesleyan Church, had established themselves to the west of the Caledon, where they founded four stations, in reality less for the benefit of the Basutos themselves, on whose territory they were, than for the people whom they had brought with them. As their having established themselves in Moshesh's country was to have important consequences for the tribe and thereby for our Mission, we must say a few words about it.

Revs. Edwards, Archbell and Jenkins, after having preached the Gospel to a clan of Barolongs residing to the north of the Vaal, had been compelled, either in

order to escape the incessant wars, or through want of water, to look for a better territory for themselves and their protégés. This they found at the foot of the high mountain Thaba 'Nchu half way between Bloemfontein (which did not then exist) and the Caledon. That spot was then occupied by a small Basuto chief, Moseme, a subject of Moshesh. But as the country was big enough for all of them, neither he nor Moshesh opposed the arrival of the newcomers. The fact that missionaries were at their head fully satisfied Moshesh. He willingly allowed them to settle themselves either at Thaba'Nchu or in the vicinity and promised his protection to the immigrants and to their spiritual leaders. These founded on his territory the four stations named respectively Thaba 'Nchu, Lesuoane, (frequently written Leshoane in the documents of that period) Meru Metso (or Mpoukane) and Platberg, this latter station being close to the banks of the Caledon, at a distance of three or four kilometers from Maseru, the present capital of Basutoland.

The Wesleyan missionaries, very little acquainted with the customs of the country, believed, in good faith no doubt, that they had bought from Moshesh, for themselves and their protégés, Barolongs, Griquas or bastards, the property and even the suzerainty of a big territory, as large as a Swiss canton. They had, in fact, given him seven young oxen, a heifer, two sheep and one goat for the district of Thaba 'Nchu. In the eyes of Moshesh that represented solely the gift which every stranger is in duty bound to make to the chief on whose territory he is coming to settle, which gift entitles him to the right of protection from the chief.

That transaction was to be the origin of long and

sanguinary troubles and play an important part in the political history of South Africa.

Besides the four stations founded in the country proper of Moshesh for the immigrants, the Wesleyans established a fifth one at Merabeng (or Mpokane) near the residence of Sekonyela, the Paramount Chief of the Batlokoas, the old enemies of the Basutos. There had been peace for some years already between these two nations and the presence of a Wesleyan missionary among the Batlokoas pointed to its continuance.

The Wesleyan stations developed very rapidly, and an important nucleus of Basuto, Batlokoa and other Christians quickly came into existence around the new missionaries. From the very first, the relations that existed between the Paris missionaries and their English brethren were those of a most fraternal and Christian communion. It was clearly understood between them that the tribe of Moshesh himself would remain under the exclusive direction of the French Mission, although it was difficult to fix a well defined geographical boundary between the two societies, especially as most of the new-comers had settled themselves in the immediate vicinity of Basuto villages.

On the French stations the spiritual work advanced slowly, so slowly, in fact, that our brethren were wondering whether their efforts and their sacrifices had not been in vain. At Morija, not only was the school which had been begun in the early days, in a precarious state, but the daily prayer meetings and the Sunday services were exceedingly poorly attended. The young men, most of whom were still bachelors, and who formed the greatest portion of the population of the village, had no spiritual

wants and did not understand what was being taught to them.

The Gospel had no interest for them. The quarrels between Letsie and Molapo, who were rivals for the first place, were frequent; hunting and war preoccupations dominated everything. The missionaries had succeeded fairly quickly in learning enough Sesuto to be able, after a year, to dispense with interpreters and to speak without much trouble with the Basutos. The arrival of Mrs. Casalis (born Dyke) whom Rev. Casalis had married at the Cape in 1836, was a happy event for the missionaries as well as for the whole tribe. Mrs. Casalis was the first white woman to enter Basutoland. The Christian home, always so important, especially in heathen territories, had been established. In 1837 Rev. Arbousset followed the example of Rev. Casalis and also married. These marriages convinced the Basutos that the missionaries would not leave them, and their confidence in the Mission was considerably increased thereby.

The two stations outside of Basutoland had a separate life, which in many instances was more encouraging, especially as it was at Bethulie that the three first Christians were baptized in 1836. A number of the inhabitants of Bethulie and of Beersheba were emigrants who had returned from the Cape Colony where they had come into contact, at least indirectly, with Christianity and civilisation ; they were thus more apt to understand and to accept the Gospel. The old national customs had also less hold on them. For the time being Beersheba was remaining behind Bethulie; the stormy and difficult beginnings of that station had retarded its development ; it was no yet possible to anticipate the importance which it

was about to acquire so rapidly. In 1837 two new stations in Basutoland proper, namely Thaba-Bosigo and Mekuatleng, were added to the other three. When the missionaries realised that, for reasons which they were the first to fully comprehend, Moshesh could not think of leaving Thaba-Bosigo, they saw the necessity of founding a station there.

Such an important place could not, without danger and loss, be deprived of having a resident missionary. It was necessary to have near the Paramount Chief, in fact in his capital, a representative of acknowledged authority, who could teach him the Gospel and have a Christian influence on him and his counsellors. The interests of the whole Mission imperatively required such a step.

The Rev. Casalis was chosen for that new post. His friend, Rev. Arbousset was to pursue at Morija the work they had started together. The choice was an excellent one ; the qualities of Rev. Casalis, his prudence, his astuteness and his firmness were exactly those that were required for such a difficult post. Gentle and firm at the same time, he was sure to have a great influence on Moshesh and to be able, when duty so demanded, to hold his own against the chief without hurting his feelings. The gifts of Rev. Arbousset fitted him more especially for a station like Morija ; there he would have a free hand and be able to go ahead, develop and advance his work without anyone hindering him ; and he would also have full scope for his marvellous faculties as a pioneer and an organiser.

In March 1837, Mr. Gossellin laid the foundations of the stone dwelling-house which stands to this day at

the foot of Moshesh's mountain, and which, though since enlarged and altered, is fundamentally still the same. It is probably the oldest European house to the north of the Orange. It stands as one of the monuments of the zeal and the conscientious work of the one who erected it with his own hands, and who has been, in the sphere in which his humility always kept him, one of the true founders of the mission, one of those whose memory is still piously revered in Basutoland. It took Mr. Gossellin nearly a year to complete his work. In 1838 Rev. Casalis was able to move into it and he resided in it with his family till 1854.

The year 1837 also saw the foundation of the station of Mekuatleng to the west of the Caledon, at some distance from the Wesleyan settlement. The decision to establish that station had been taken as a consequence of a long journey of exploration undertaken in 1836 in the country, then totally unknown, that lies between the Vaal and the Caledon, by Revs. Arbousset and Daumas, the latter of whom had just arrived in Basutoland. Rev. Arbousset has left a full description of that expedition in a book full of geographical and historical particulars of the utmost interest (1). The new station, which was to be under the direction of Rev. Daumas for over thirty years, was in Moshesh's territory, but was intended more especially for the evangelization of the clan of the Bataung or Lihoyas, who had also been driven away from their

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(1) Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance, entrepris dans les mois de mars, avril et mai 1838 par MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, Paris 1842. Translated into English and published at Aberdeen in 1852.

former territory by the devastations of the preceding years. The Paramount Chief of the Bataung, Makuana, thought at one time of settling at the new Mission. He preferred, however, to go back to his own country rather than place himself under the suzerainty of Moshesh. But another Bataung chief, Moletsane, decided to settle near Mekuatleng ; he was destined later to play an important part in the history of the country, and after remaining a heathen for over thirty years, he eventually became a christian in 1871.

II

First Successes (1838—1843)

As early as 1838, therefore, three Mission stations had been founded in heathen Basutoland in the very centre of Moshesh's country, viz. Morija and Thaba-Bosigo to the east of the Caledon, and Mekuatleng to the west. The missionaries estimated the population of those three districts to be about 20,000 people. Another large district, called the district of the Orange, was still without a missionary; it extended to the south and south-west of Morija down to the banks of the great river. Notwithstanding their desire to establish at once a station which they deemed absolutely necessary in that district, they had to wait until the arrival in 1843 of Rev. Schrumpf. The station of Bethesda was then founded on the banks of the small river of Maphutšeng, in the district of Moorosi, a Mophuti chief, vassal of Moshesh. For a few years already numerous people had gradually taken up their abode in that part of the country. Most of them were Basutos back from the Cape Colony, where war and famine had compelled them to take refuge some time before. The work that was thus started in the south of Basutoland, was destined to become particularly prosperous.

It was in the same year (1843) that Rev. Maitin founded the station of Berea, a few miles to the north of Thaba-Bosigo, from which it was separated by a large,

rocky plateau. It was the residence of Khoabane, a distant relative of Moshesh. A dense population, which had so far remained outside the influence of the Mission, was congregated in the immediate neighbourhood of the new station.

In 1843 the Paris Mission thus possessed five stations in Basutoland proper, another semi-independent station, Beersheba, under the direct authority of Moshesh, and a seventh, viz. Bethulie, completely outside Basutoland and occupied by Bechuanas, a people in many respects very different from the Basutos. We shall not speak in this book of Motito, in Bechuanaland; though controlled by the same Committee in Paris, that station has never belonged in any way to the Mission of which we are now writing the history.

In the same year (1843) there were in Basutoland seven ordained missionaries, viz: Revs. Pellissier, Rolland Arbousset, Daumas Casalis, Schrumpf and Maitin, and three unordained missionaries, viz: Messrs. Gossellin, Dyke and Maeder, all of whom, with the exception of Mr. Gossellin, were married. In all, therefore, there were seven stations and twelve missionaires (two of whom were artisan-missionaries) for a population of from 30,000 to 35,000, scattered over a comparatively large territory.

The period intervening between 1833 and 1843 has been of enormous importance for the history of the Mission as well as for that of the tribe. It deserves to be treated at some length. For the Basutos as well as for the missionary work proper, it marks a time of expansion and of joyful opening up, "the golden age", as Rev.

Jousse terms it, somewhat ambitiously perhaps, in his History of the French Mission in South Africa.

The hopes that Moshesh had placed on the presence and the activities of his missionaries had not been vain. The year 1833 marked, as we have already seen, the end of the wars which threatened the very existence of the tribe. From that time until the wars against the White people began, no serious political danger threatened Moshesh's power. Was this a mere coincidence, or should we not rather attribute it to the direct influence of the Mission, which, in strengthening the national feeling and in standing as a rallying point for all, was instrumental in saving the Basutos from external as well as internal dangers ? It will always be impossible to answer such questions with any degree of certainty. There is no doubt, at any rate, that the Mission by its mere presence, and that missionaries like Casalis and Arbousset, by the excellent advice given by them to Moshesh and generally followed by him, played a large part in strengthening his power and maintaining the unity of his nation. It is on a smaller scale and on very different ground, what the Christian Church did during the Vth and VIth centuries for Clovis and the Merovingians, and later on for the predecessors of Charlemagne. The following testimony of the historian Theal, which nobody could possibly look upon with any suspicion, can fittingly be quoted here : "If the French missionaries owed much to Moshesh, he certainly owed more to them. To the French missionaries must be attributed, more than to all other foreign agencies combined the existence of the Basutos as a powerful tribe. Disintegration would have followed the return of prosperity, the various elements which had not yet

had time to blend must have fallen asunder, but for them". (1)

Before 1833, Moshesh's power, still undefined and often disputed, was not what it became later. The limits of the territory which he could legitimately claim as his own, were not expansive. The fragments of the Basuto clans that had survived the disasters of the 1820 to 1831 period,more or less acknowledged his authority but without being bound to him by really indissoluble ties. The union which it had been so difficult to bring about could easily be undone if circumstances led to it. Fortunately such did not happen to be the case. From the arrival of the missionaries, the power of Moshesh grew rapidly. To the south of Thaba-Bosigo his authority extended uncontested ever since 1836, to the banks of the Orange river, and newcomers acknowledged it readily. On the right bank of the Caledon it extended to the south beyond Beersheba, where Rev. Rolland and the headmen that had settled near him formally accepted it. To the west it reached Thaba 'Nchu where the Barolongs of Chief Moroke lived amongst Basuto clans, and still looked upon themselves as semi-vassals of Moshesh. It was only to the north that his authority was seriously contested. The Batlokoas occupied the whole of the right bank of the Caledon from a point slightly to the north of the actual town of Ladybrand, and a portion of the present district of Molapo on the left bank of the river. Most of the inhabitants of that district, however, claimed to belong to Moshesh, more

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(1) Basutoland Records, Vol. II, p. xxix.

especially the Makhoakhoas, who lived in the neighbourhood of Butha-Buthe. Naturally the great Mosuto chief constantly directed his efforts towards bringing back under his direct authority that part of the land that had been the cradle of his race and to which so many memories bound him, and was determined not to rest until he had recovered it.

But at that time peace reigned supreme even in that quarter. Sekonyela, the Paramount Chief of the Batlokoas, was on good terms with Moshesh, and the latter still hoped that by gentleness and persuasion, he would bring about the fusion of their people, or at least be able to live in harmony with them. He realised what peace had already brought forth for him, and that it was through it that his power would increase. The rest and prosperity which his policy had succeeded in restoring in his country, brought him followers every day ; refugees came from all parts to enjoy his protection ; whole clans migrated to his country ; and he was acknowledged by all as their legitimate chief. It was at that time that it can be said that the Basuto Nation was formed. Those ten years of almost uninterrupted peace brought it the strength and unity that it so sorely required in order to go through the long period of adversity which the future had in store for it, without succumbing.

The same applies to the French Mission. Those ten years count perhaps more in its history than any of those that followed. Its roots grew so deeply into the soil in which God had planted it, that it was enabled to withstand without too much damage, the storms which were soon to burst over it. It was not merely a season of difficult sowing ; it was already a full grown harvest.

which was being reaped with shouts of joy ; and the successes which God allowed during those beautiful years were such as to justify the raising of the highest hopes for the future.

The two stations on the border of Basutoland proper owed their earlier and more rapid progress to their position. The very distance that separated them from the national heathen centre, and their relative isolation were favourable to them at that time. The influence of the Gospel encountered fewer obstacles there. The first conversions took place at Bethulie as early as 1836, when three Christians were admitted into the Church, the first-fruits of an abundant harvest. That Mission Station, which ceased to exist as such in 1863 and which in many respects belonged but indirectly to the Basutoland Mission, had a fairly large influence on the whole of our work for some years. The position of Rev. Pellissier was very different from that of his colleagues. He was, in fact, a true master, nay a real sovereign on his station, as it did not come under any Native chief, nor was it under European jurisdiction. Lephoi and his Bechuanas were only tenants living on the Society's ground. This gave Rev. Pellissier a considerable influence straight away.

On the other hand, the geographical position of Bethulie, at the very gates of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, attracted to it quite a number of Natives who had come into direct contact with Christianity to some extent, were better prepared to accept its influence, and were all the more susceptible to it as their long stay in a foreign land had caused them to abandon many of their national traditions.

This explains the remarkable progress that could be reported at such an early date at Bethulie. In 1843 there were already 42 communicants, 58 catechumens and 150 school children. Civilisation was making rapid strides ; Sunday services were attended by large audiences. It was very encouraging for the missionaries in Basutoland, who had to break up a rougher and more arid soil, to go and visit Bethulie and see the results already obtained through the Gospel. They could thus judge of what they might expect in their own stations. But that position, however advantageous it may have seemed then, had its dangers. The very fact that Bethulie formed, so to say, an independant state, exposed it, as well as Rev. Pellissier, to great difficulties and to attacks from its neighbours. In about 1838 already, Adam Kok, the chief of the Griquas at Philippolis, had tried to bring it under his authority. In order to batter down Rev. Pellissier's influence which thwarted his plans and stood in the way of his ambitious aims, he went so far as to incite one of the members of the Church to bring a most serious charge against the missionary. Rev. Pellissier had no difficulty in proving his complete innocence, but from that day his relations with the chief Lephoi, who had also turned against him, were not what they had been formerly. The ambitious spirit which Adam Kok had awakened in Lephoi was destined to bring about a painful state of tension between him and his missionary and to cause grave difficulties.

At Beersheba Rev. Rolland enjoyed, in many respects, the same advantages as Rev. Pellissier. He was, in fact, not only the pastor, but also the temporal chief of his station and of its extensive territory ; the small

Basuto and Bechuana clans of Moeletsi and of Moi, that had settled at Beersheba, never thought of disputing his authority. But, while Bethulie was entirely independent, Beersheba fully acknowledged Moshesh's suzerainty. Rev. Rolland was wise enough never to try to break away from it; on the contrary, he accepted it with thankfulness. He could thus claim for himself and his work the protection of a power mighty enough to defend him if necessary, but at the same time too distant to stand in his way. Rev. Rolland has had a free hand more than any other missionary of our Society in South Africa, and, assisted by an admirable wife, he was able to give his full measure. He is one of the great figures of our Mission and is perhaps less known in France to-day than he deserves to be. The ruin of Beersheba in 1858 and in 1865 did not destroy his work, but scattered it, so that his name disappeared in the shade, and is far too little remembered in our day. This is one of those injustices of which history is full. For those who know something of the past of our Mission, Samuel Rolland deserves a place of honour in it. He, like Casalis and Arbousset, is one of the true founders of the Basutoland Mission, one of those who contributed most to give it its tradition and its spirit, and his name must stand in the foremost rank on its roll of honour. He had an extraordinary and preponderating influence. It was felt among his fellow missionaries, who acknowledged it by retaining him as chairman of their Missionary Conference for over twenty years; among the Boers who nicknamed him "the President"; and among the Natives to such an extent, that to this day the descendants of the Christians from Beersheba, scattered all over

Basutoland, differ from the other Basutos in many characteristics, and all appear to bear the distinguishing mark of their old missionary. They are more civilised, more progressive, more attached to their past, and they still love to call themselves the Ma-Roellane (Rolland's clan). The following topical event enables one to gauge more fully the indelible impression that he has left among those who knew him. Some years ago one of the old Beersheba people, who was nearing his end, said to one of our colleagues, "I am going to die; I will soon go unto God, where are gathered Abraham, Isaac . . . and Samuel Rolland !" We know of no other missionary, even amongst the greatest, to whom such a testimony has ever been rendered.

It is to Rev. Rolland that our Mission owes the translation of part of the New Testament into Sesuto and several of the beautiful hymns of our Sesuto hymn book. As long as the church of Basutoland lives, the hymns which he composed will resound to the praise of Him whom he served so well and to the service of whom he gave himself unreservedly.

We are anticipating, however, for in about 1843 Rev. Rolland's activities had not yet reached their full development ; but we desired to mention from the very beginning the important role which Beersheba and Rev. Rolland have played in the destiny of the Basutoland Mission, all the more so as, in the continuation of this story, the station of Beersheba will necessarily stand somewhat in the background, chiefly on account of its eccentric geographical situation.

The first years of its existence were rather hard and it would then have been difficult to foresee the future

that was in store for it. The depredations, first of the Korannas, then of the Kaffirs, very nearly threatened it with destruction. But the wisdom and the firmness of Rev. Rolland, together with the continuous support of Moshesh, brought back peace and security at last, and from 1839 Beersheba developed exceedingly rapidly. Its population increased in an unexpected manner. Conversions, rare at first, rapidly increased in number. In 1837 Rev. Rolland baptized the first four Basuto and Bechuana converts ; he baptized 47 new members in 1838, 40 in 1839 and 41 in 1840. The impetus once given never slowed down and Beersheba soon surpassed the most ambitious hopes of its founder. In 1842 there were already 133 full members with 242 catechumens, making a total of 375 adult Christians ; in 1843 there were 200 full members and 212 catechumens, making 412 adult Christians in all. In his flourishing schools, mostly managed by Mrs. Rolland, over 300 scholars, adults and children, received daily instruction. The round Native huts were already being superseded by square cottages : civilisation was progressing quickly there. Beersheba was, until 1858, by far the most progressive and best managed of all our Mission Stations. It stood as a model that all the others would have liked to copy.

In 1838 Mr. Maeder had come to assist Rev. Rolland, chiefly with the manual part of the work. In 1843 Mr. Ludorf started the first printing press that our Mission ever possessed, and in 1845 he began to print the New Testament. Beersheba was becoming more important still.

In Basutoland proper, the start had been difficult

and progress infinitely slower. But circumstances were quite different there ; the Mission had to develop in the very heart of heathendom, and had to deal with a strong and yet untouched nationality that stuck jealously to its ancient traditions. There the power of the chief was almost absolute. The missionaries had to acknowledge it just as much as the Basutos themselves : this they understood, and from the beginning they accepted the situation. They became in their hearts and in their minds, true Basutos, submissive to the laws of the country and respecting its traditions, a policy from which they have never thought of departing. That explains why, notwithstanding the barriers which could not but stand between them and the Basutos, they became popular so quickly, and always have remained so, in spite of passing misunderstandings. They have become an integral part of the tribe and one body with it.

Such a position has its dangers as well as its advantages. In this particular case the advantages prevailed by far, chiefly because when once the missionaries had accepted the position they never tried to change it or to escape from the obligations which it carried, an attitude which their successors have honourably maintained.

What made things easier for them was the personality and the attitude of Moshesh. Despite a little and quite comprehensive vacillation, he was a precious support, even a help to them. He had become their personal friend and always had a profound respect for them and for the Gospel they preached. It must be acknowledged, however, that the successes obtained were due, above all, to the Christian spirit and the devotion shown

by Revs. Arbousset and Casalis. With a wisdom all the more admirable because it was so to say instinctive, they understood that it was necessary to rely as far as possible on the nation and its chief, and to create in Basutoland a frankly national Mission, adapted to the customs and to the needs of the Basutos themselves. All South African Missions no doubt desired and attempted the same, but not one, to our knowledge, has done so so completely and so continuously.

Circumstances have certainly contributed to it, but the will so clearly expressed by its founders has been, without doubt, the greatest factor in the achievement of that purpose. They desired to assimilate themselves with the tribe, to share its national life and not to remain strangers among those whom they had come to evangelize.

Needless to say, it could not be expected that success should be as rapid there as at Bethulie or at Beersheba ; it was necessary to give the seed time to germinate and to grow in a soil so new and so little prepared to receive it. It was necessary first of all to come into close contact with the people, to live their life and to come to understand them and to be understood by them. The very fact that the first three missionaries were unmarried when they arrived in Basutoland was a great help to them, for they were thus compelled to share for some time in the life of the hut and of the village, and to be in contact with the Natives all day and at all hours and they thus served an apprenticeship such as none of their successors experienced. It enabled them to make the closest acquaintance with the very soul of the Basutos and to appreciate them at their true value.

In a letter dated the 3rd September 1838, Rev.

Casalis wrote on that subject, "As soon as these intimate relations (between the missionaries and the Natives) have been established, everything becomes simple and easy. The Mosuto keeps no more secrets from one whom he sees smiling at his children and sleeping peacefully at his side ; and the missionary, in his turn, finds pleasure in the society of his new acquaintances." If these words perhaps err on the side of exaggeration, they are nevertheless the expression of an indisputable truth.

Notwithstanding all their efforts, their devotion, their love and their charity, the missionaries had to wait nearly six years before they had the joy of witnessing serious conversions ; six long years of patience and faith which God rewarded magnificently. Towards the end of 1838 a few souls began to awaken to the new life : Ntlaloe, the first fruit of the Basutoland Mission, was the first to be converted at Thaba-Bosigo. Hardly had he been converted, that he had the courage to ask Rev. Casalis to bury his sister, who had just died, and to do so according to Christian rites. This meant breaking away from all the traditions of his race. On the 18th August 1839 he was baptized, the first among his people, under the name of Daniel. A few months later, also at Thaba-Bosigo, one of the best known counsellors of Moshesh, viz. Ramatšeatsane, and Mosetse whose touching story Rev. Casalis has so graphically narrated (1), were also baptized under the respective names of Abraham and Moses. At about the same time Rev. Daumas baptized seven converts at Mekuatleng. At Christmas, the same year, Morija witnessed the baptism of Esaia Leheti.

(1) Journal des Missions Evangéliques, 1841 p. 1 sq.

The year after (1840) it was the turn of Lydia Mamosa, the first wife of chief Molapo, son of Moshesh ; then that of Molapo himself who took the name of Jeremia ; then that of Thomas Sekhesa, Ricare Sello and others, and of the famous warrior Joshua Makoanyane (or Nao) the comrade at arms and life long friend of Moshesh. In 1841 fresh baptisms added to the small flock of the faithful thus gathered round the missionaries.

Amongst them we may mention David Masopha (Moshesh's third son) and Pauluse Matete, one of his chief counsellors. At Mekuatleng also the march forward could not be stemmed : an influential man belonging to the Bataung clan, David Raleie, also entered the Church.

In 1842 there were already 28 full members at Morija, 23 at Thaba-Bosigo, and 16 at Mekuatleng. In 1843 their number had increased considerably : Morija counted 67, Thaba-Bosigo 49, and Mekuatleng 35, making altogether a total of 151 Basutos already full members in the three central mission stations of the territory. If we add to these figures 280 catechumens at Morija, 130 at Thaba-Bosigo and 43 at Mekuatleng (453 in all), we find with surpise and gratitude that the total number of Christians already reached the really extraordinary figure of 604.

Among them were to be found several of the most influential members of the tribe. Moshesh's sons, his counsellors, his old companions, all became Christians. It looked as if the chief himself was on the eve of accepting the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He had already consented to free two of his wives who had become converted ; in spite of the opposition of his father and of the

whole heathen party, he had just had another of his wives buried in the Christian cemetery. The brightest hopes seemed justified in the eyes of the missionaries. It was like the blossoming of flowers all round them at spring time. The letters they wrote at that time were full of enthusiasm and of joyful hope.

These great successes of Christianity were bound to stir up the hostility of the heathen party, which still represented the great majority of the tribe. Moshesh's father, Mokhachane, and most of the smaller chiefs were not enamoured with the idea of so many Basutos, and among them the sons and counsellors of Moshesh, accepting the Gospel and encouraging the mass of the nation by their example to forego their time-honoured traditions. The partisans of heathenism were determined to make at least one real effort to retrieve their cause.

At one time it even looked as if Moshesh had been won over to the reaction or a least as if he was on the point of giving way to it. In 1841, at the instigation of his father and of chief Makara, and taking advantage of the temporary absence of Rev. Casalis, he convened a great "pitso"(1) at Thaba-Bosigo, at which, it was said, the ruin of Christianity was to be decided upon. Some even went so far as to ask for the death of Abraham Rama-tšeatsane and of other converts. The latter stood up fearlessly before their enemies ; their firm and courageous attitude protected them and their cause against the hatred of the heathens. Moshesh, who at first had thought it good to give a few pledges to the partisans of

(1) "Pitso" is the name given by the Basutos to their national assembly.

heathenism, at last openly sided with the Christians. The danger, which at one time appeared to be serious had been warded off, and Christianity received once more, and this time for good, the rights of citizenship.

But that crisis left its mark. That was the time that Moshesh, fully disposed, it seemed, to become a Christian, but anxious above all not to go counter to public opinion, hesitated too openly and in the end decided not to enter the Church personally. There is no doubt that he was favourable to Christianity ; his policy as well as his heart drew him toward it, but he was afraid that if he confessed his conversion, he would lose his influence on the great mass of the Basutos. He foresaw, probably rightly, that in that event the latter would refuse to follow him ; he realised that his power would be shaken thereby and that it was better for him not to run such a grave risk. He dared not take the decisive step then, and later it became more and more difficult for him to do so. From the point of view of his absolute duty,he should and must be condemned for it. But what would his detractors of to-day have done had they been in his place?

We have a right, however, to regret that he had not the courage to declare himself more frankly in favour of Christianity. If he had taken the step, the history of Basutoland might have taken a different course and Christianity made the same conquests as in Uganda or Madagascar.

During the ten years that had elapsed since their arrival, the missionaries had learned the language of the country and spoke it, if not as well, at least as easily or nearly as fluently as their mother tongue. In 1837 they had already had their first publication in the Sesuto

language printed at Cape Town, viz. a small elementary catechism. In 1839 the Gospel according to St. Mark, translated by Rev. Casalis and the Gospel according to St. John, translated by Rev. Rolland, were also printed at Cape Town, together with a book containing 50 chapters of the Old and of the New Testament (Seyo sa lipelo) (1), due to the pen of Rev. Arbousset.

In that way the Basutos were beginning to possess the Word of God in their own language, which at the same time was becoming a literary one. The rest of the New Testament was translated by Revs. Rolland and Casalis in 1843, and in 1845 Mr Ludorf began printing it at Beersheba.

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(1) Food for the heart.

III

Rapid development of the Mission. First difficulties (1843—1848)

At the period which we have now reached (1843) peace reigned everywhere and the future augured well ; conversions increased every year, and it could be hoped that before long the mass of the tribe would turn towards the Gospel. The two new stations that had just been founded, Berea and Bethesda, made it possible to reach a much larger portion of the population ; and the Mission was determined to found others as soon as the Paris Committee could send the necessary reinforcements.

And yet it was at that very time that the storm was brewing which was to shake the tribe so violently and the Mission right down to its foundations.

Up till then, the missionaries had been practically the only Europeans with whom the Basutos had come into contact. That had been an inestimable advantage for our work. But the position was soon to change entirely and the contact between Moshesh's subjects and the South African settlers was to bring about a new era of wars and insecurity. Anyone who studies the history of the country must acknowledge that it was providential that our Mission penetrated into Basutoland as early as

1833 and established itself there so firmly during the first ten years of its existence.

From 1834 to 1836 the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope was in a state of fermentation that was to bring about, in the whole of South Africa, changes which were as great as they were unforeseen.

It was at that time that a great political party in England was beginning to interest itself in the Black people and their fate. Under the sway of liberal and generous ideals ideas aiming at ensuring to everyone a legitimate share of justice and liberty sprang up in various directions

In 1829 already, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Philip, the great South African Christian philanthropist, the Hottentots of the Cape Colony had been emancipated. In 1833 the British Parliament decreed that as from the 1st of December 1834, all slaves residing in its various colonies would have to be freed. England was thus following the example given of yore by the French Revolution, although unfortunately a few years later Napoleon took the retrograde step of re-establishing slavery.

England, more just and at the same time wiser than revolutionary France, understood that it was necessary not only to emancipate the slaves but also to compensate their owners. Parliament voted to that effect the enormous sum of £20,000,000 (500 million francs). Unfortunately that amount proved insufficient to pay the compensation in full,with the result that grave dissatisfaction was caused everywhere, especially inSouth Africa where the slaves numbered 35,000. The South African colonists, already considerably vexed at the emancipation of the Hottentots, did not understand

why they should now be deprived of their black slaves. Accustomed for two centuries to despise coloured people and to treat them less as human beings than as creatures (in Dutch "schepsels") made solely to serve them, they could not understand the lofty reasons which directed the policy of England in this matter ; on this point, as on many others, they still had the notions and the prejudices of the 17th century. The smothered anger with which the Boer farmers bore the British rule could thus but grow deeper.

At about the same time another unpopular deed of the British Government brought their resentment to a climax. In 1835 a fresh war had broken out between the Kaffirs and the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ; as usual, the Kaffirs had been overcome in the long run. The peace treaty that put an end to hostilities took away from them, also as usual, a portion of their territory. But this time, under the influence of ideals seldom to be found in statesmen, the English Cabinet, convinced that the fault lay with the Colonists, refused to ratify the treaty, and in 1836, gave the territory of which they had just been deprived back to the Kaffirs. This was the last drop which caused the cup, already full to the brim, to overflow. Rather than live under a Government that protected slaves and Natives, and refused the settlers the right to treat them as they liked, the Boer farmers resolved to leave the Cape Colony and to go and look for a country, to the north of the Orange River, in which they would be free from any interference on the part of a power which they detested, and where they would have the right to govern themselves as they wished.

The great "trek" or exodus of the Boers (farmers) is

the event in the history of the conquest of South Africa by the White men, and opens up an era of struggles between the Dutch and the English races of which the great Anglo-Boer War marks a decisive phase. The Boer emigrants (the Voortrekkers) began to leave in small batches, the first of which left already in 1835. The greater number departed from the Colony from 1836 to 1838. Amongst the leaders of the movement special mention must be made of Potgieter, Retief, Maritz and Pretorius. The Boers crossed the Orange and began settling in the Northern part of what is to-day the Orange Free State, where they founded the village of Winburg. A portion of them crossed the Vaal and came into conflict with Moselekatsi, the chief of the Matebeles. Defeated in 1837 in two encounters, Moselekatsi had to flee to the north of the Limpopo. Henceforth the Transvaal belonged to the emigrants. In 1838 Retief and his companions crossed the Drakensberg and descended into Natal. On the 6th February 1838 Dingaan, the Zulu tyrant, both murderer and successor of the famous Chaka, massacred them treacherously. Nearly 300 Boers, men, women and children, fell under the blows of the Zulus. The emigrants' revenge, however, was not slow to come: in December 1838 Dingaan was defeated by Pretorius; in 1840 his brother Panda rose against him and concluded an alliance with the Boers. Dingaan, overpowered and murdered, disappeared from the scene. The Republic of Port-Natal was proclaimed in 1842. Panda kept Zululand for himself, but as vassal of the Boers. Thus the latter had succeeded in a few years in establishing their rule in the Transvaal, in Natal and in quite a large portion of the country that extends between the Orange and the

Vaal. They were not to keep all those territories for long: England, which claimed that it had prior rights to Natal, interfered as early as 1843 and annexed that country.

All those serious events that were taking place all round Basutoland, had, at first, left Moshesh and his people quite undisturbed. The great road of the emigrants passed outside his country, and the Boer "commandos" never came very near his boundaries. There was thus no immediate danger for him. The establishment of a European state to the north of the Orange river was bound, it is true, to have serious consequences for Basutoland if the Boers succeeded in their efforts in that direction. But, for the time being, nobody worried about it. Moshesh, on the other hand, was gathering the fruits of the defeat of Dingaan and of Moselekatsi; the Boers, in freeing him of two formidable enemies, had indirectly rendered him a very great service; Basutoland would henceforth be protected from the raids of the Zulus and Matebeles. Peace was thus ensured from that quarter; and as for the Boers who had settled in Natal and in the Transvaal, they were too far from Moshesh to cause him trouble.

More serious, however, in its immediate consequences for Basutoland, was a Boer emigration of a somewhat different character which took place at the same time in one portion of Moshesh's territory. In 1830 already, some of those farmers had acquired the habit of crossing the Orange River in search of better grazing lands. Politics had nothing or practically nothing to do with that movement; the Boers were merely looking for new farms on which to settle. It was the natural consequence of that expansion which for two centuries

had led the Dutch farmers to move towards the interior of the country. As a large part of the territory lying between the Orange and the Caledon was then uninhabited, Moshesh put no obstacles in the way of the rather considerable number of farmers who settled there. Unaware, as were all South African chiefs, that land could be purchased, and that among Europeans it was considered private property, he saw no danger in allowing the emigrants to graze their herds on his lands. Turning a deaf ear to the counsels of his missionaries, he refused to believe that the Boers could ever claim that he had given them the entire and complete ownership of the lands on which they had settled and the boundaries of which they fixed at their own free will. He was convinced that they would remain there at most only a few years, and took pleasure in saying: "They will not carry away my country in their wagons."

When he eventually realised the mistake he had made, it was too late to remedy matters. The White people, whom he had allowed to settle in his country, had now no desire to surrender it, and in that way, between 1838 and 1842, a large territory, over part of which at any rate Moshesh had unquestionable rights, was occupied as farms by the Boers. For the time being that did not present any cause for trouble, for there was room for all. But the nefarious consequences of that occupation could not remain unfelt.

In the beginning the British Government did not seem to take much notice of the trend of events. But it soon perceived the disastrous consequences that an exodus which it had not been able to foresee or to prevent might have on its position in South Africa. The wars

between the emigrants and Moselekatsi and Dingaan, opened its eyes. If the Cape Colony did not want to be drawn into grave complications and new wars against the Natives, something had to be done without delay.

At that time England had at her head a Cabinet which was resolved to maintain the rights of the Natives and to protect them against uncalled for use of force. To side with them also meant weakening the Boers and preventing them from becoming a source of danger.

At the Cape, Dr. Philip, the liberator of the Hottentots, was all powerful in the Government's Councils. His sympathy was whole-heartedly with the Native tribes. To the north of the Orange, the Griquas, in whom he was particularly interested, and in whose midst the London Missionary Society possessed flourishing stations had established a then prosperous state, on which he founded great hopes, which, however, were not realised. He was in constant touch with the French missionaries, whose steps he had been instrumental in directing towards Basutoland. He knew of Moshesh's power; he knew also that the great chief's desire was to conclude a treaty with England, which would secure the future of his country.

At the request of Moshesh, transmitted and strongly supported by Rev. Casalis, Dr. Philip advised the British Government to enter into diplomatic relations with the great Mosuto chief, and to come to an understanding with him. Another treaty of the same kind was to be concluded with Adam Kok, chief of the Griquas of Philippolis. On the 3rd October 1843 Sir George Napier, Governor of the Cape, signed a treaty with the two chiefs. England expressly acknowledged Moshesh's sovereignty over the whole country situated between the Orange and

the Caledon, and to the west of this river, over a stretch of territory of some 25 or 30 miles to the South and that of the Batlokoas to the North.

It might be expected that this treaty, which guaranteed to Moshesh the territory occupied by his tribe, would have been acclaimed with joy by all those interested in the matter, for it was a pledge of peace and security for the future. But no sooner had it been signed than an unforeseen difficulty arose. Moroke, Gert Taaibosch, and other chiefs, who, under the leadership of Wesleyan missionaries had settled in Moshesh's territory with his special permission, now claimed what they termed their rights, and declared that the territories on which they had settled belonged to them. The Wesleyan missionaries backed their claims with all their might. It would probably be more exact to say that it was at their instigation that Moroke and the other smaller chiefs decided to dispute Moshesh's vested rights. As the French missionaries settled among the Basutos stoutly upheld the cause of their chief, which cause, as a matter of fact, they knew to be in accordance with justice and truth, the two Missions held conflicting views. The British Government strenuously endeavoured to settle matters, but without avail, and things remained in that state until 1848. That unfortunate quarrel had serious consequences for the whole country. It did not allow the treaty with England to bear fruit, and it contributed, almost as much as the disputes with the Boers, to cause Moshesh to lose a part of his country.

It is in connection with the treaty with Sir G. Napier that the political role of the French missionaries began. From 1843 to 1854 they were closely connected with

every important event. In order to fully realise the fact, one has only to peruse the collection of diplomatic and other papers concerning the Basutos, which the historian Theal published from 1882 to 1884 by order of the Government of the Cape of Good Hope under the title of Basutoland Records. Amongst them are numerous letters and documents signed by Revs. Casalis, Dyke and Arbousset.

From an abstract, theoretical point of view, the principle can be discussed whether the Christian missionary has the right to interfere in political or social matters, which many maintain are outside and beyond his sphere. This is not the place to discuss so vast and complex a question. It would, moreover, be idle to do so, as far as this book is concerned. As a matter of fact, it is often impossible for a missionary to remain neutral when his very position and the defence of the interests he must protect make it incumbent upon him to interfere, at least in so far as by giving his advice. In this case it would have been utterly impossible not to have interfered.

The Basutos were then in a particularly delicate position. In contact with the White people, whose language and customs they did not know, and whose ways of thinking and of acting they could not understand, they needed the help of the missionaries, even if it were only for reading to them the letters they received in English and in Dutch and explaining their contents clearly. The missionary had thus to read, to translate, to explain and necessarily also to advise, since he alone was able to understand what was meant. He knew the minds of the Blacks as well as those of the Whites. To have stood aside

and said, "This is politics, I must abstain", would have been altogether dangerous and wrong, even if such an attitude had been practically possible. It has been so ever since Christian Missions have existed; the same has happened at Tahiti, Madagascar, and indeed everywhere where similar causes have produced similar effects and where the same events have repeated themselves.

But how little gratitude and how much suffering must be expected when it is known in advance that one's actions will bring more blame than thanks! We who can judge of things after a mature period of years and who are in a position to appreciate the consequences of the political role which the missionaries of the first and of the second generations played, we have the right to be proud of what they have done. They discharged honourably the onerous duty that had been imposed upon them and which they neither looked for nor desired. They served the cause of peace and progress always and everywhere. They gave their opinions frankly, even when they were bound to cause displeasure; in the same way they blamed Moshesh when they thought they were justified in doing so, and when they deemed it necessary, they did not scruple to rebuke such or such an English Governor for the errors or for the injustices which he was responsible for, or was on the point of committing.

What stands entirely to their credit and cannot but impress any attentive reader of the Basutoland Records, is the fact that, even under the gravest circumstances, when their intervention was bound to be most embarrassing, justice has always been done to them by those very people who at one time had been most unfavourably disposed towards them. We think more especially of

Sir. G. Cathcart, whose words, full of the highest respect and esteem for the French missionaries, well deserve to be quoted. (1)

Sir G. Clerk, Sir G. Grey and all those who have had any dealings with them, have given them the same praise. They have expressly acknowledged the fact that those missionaries have been guided solely by their anxiety to bring about order and peace, and to work for the greatest good of the people whom they evangelized and with whom they formed one unit. Their political role has been as courageous and disinterested as it has been clever and wise, and we are fully justified in saying, as the Basutos themselves say, that the fact that the Basuto Nation still exists to-day, is due to a large extent to Revs. Casalis and Arbousset, and later to Rev. Mabille.

But let us not anticipate. Between 1843 and 1848 the political influence of the missionaries was but beginning ; it was only later that circumstances allowed

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1) In a letter dated the 22nd March 1853 (Basutoland Records Vol. 2 p. 42) Sir G. Cathcart writes as follows : "Another advantage among the many, resulting from my visit to Platberg was that of making the acquaintance of Mr. Casalis and the other gentlemen of the French Missionary Society, who from their conversation, as well as their good works, I have learnt to know are loyally disposed towards the British Government and sincere well-wishers to and promoters of the cause of peace".

In an official dispatch from S. G. Clerk, English High Commissioner dated the 25th August 1853 (ibid. Vol. 2 p. 62) we read the following :

"Had their chiefs the sagacity, or, as I rather suppose the case to be, had they had the better training which has been the good fortune of the chief Moshesh, and were their resident missionaries, like the French missionaries with them, disposed and qualified either to impart sound maxims of conduct. . ., I should feel some confidence in the course I am now prescribing to the chiefs".

it to develop and become of much importance. The five years we are going to write about now represent for the Mission a period of quick development and of an expansion which at the time seemed unlimited. Conversions continued and the future seemed assured.

It is true that at Bethulie difficulties had already begun ; but it did not seem as if they would spread to the other parts of our field of labour. The very position of that station, which was not protected by any strong power, exposed it to special dangers. Adam Kok, the chief of the Griquas, pretended to have rights over it and was always ready to stir up trouble between Rev. Pellissier and chief Lephoi. — But the exodus of the Boers was a much more serious danger. Bethulie was on their way and suffered much on that account. Several immigrants settled on the grounds of the Mission, notwithstanding the protest of the missionary and of his people. Some Griquas had sold them part of those grounds without any colour of right. The Boers maintained, notwithstanding all evidence to the contrary, that such a transaction was perfectly legitimate, and that they could legally take advantage of it. They even tried at one time to constitute a so-called republic and bring Bethulie under their rule. It was only the intervention of the British authorities that saved the position. Naturally such disturbances and ever recurring difficulties thwarted the progress of the station. The increasing misunderstandings between Lephoi and Rev. Pellissier made an already delicate position still more awkward.

Nevertheless, the spiritual work was prospering. The number of full Church members is a token of it,

for from 89 in 1844, it had increased to 194 in 1847. On the other stations, where everything was still quiet, the work of the Mission progressed even better. At Beersheba Rev. Rolland's marvellous activity was at its height. Every year witnessed an extraordinary increase in the Church. In 1844 there were already 244 full members; in 1847 there were 463. The school was flourishing. The printing press was working constantly under Mr. Ludorf's management; in 1848 the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles had been printed. Every Sunday, congregations of from 900 to 1000 crowded around the missionary; the Church building, though large, was too small to hold all the people. Rev. and Madame Rolland's missionary work was one of the finest that one could behold in South Africa. God's blessing manifesly rested upon it.

Morija also continued to progress under the impetus which Rev. Arbousset had given to it. That missionary was endowed with a great gift for evangelization. Full of energy and of a faith that nothing could shake, he always pressed forward and was always on the look out for anything that would help to advance his work. He was the first among the French missionaries, and in that respect was ahead of all those of the first generation, to perceive that the evangelization of the Basutos should be done by the Basutos themselves, in the very interests of the converts. He believed that the thought of a work to be carried on among their fellow-people would powerfully help to strengthen their faith and keep them in the right path. He realised that the missionaries would always be too small in number for the work to be done; that for them alone to win to the Gospel the 40,000

heathens of Basutoland was an impossible task, and that it was thus necessary to find co-workers among the converts. To his mind, every Christian had to take part in that necessary task. He had organised the evangelization of his diocese on a special plan, under which it had been divided into a certain number of districts ; and everyone of those districts had to be evangelized by a certain group of Christians.

The Gospel says that he that soweth much shall reap abundantly. No wonder then that Rev Arbousset's Church grew more rapidly than that of any of the other missionaries in Basutoland. In 1844 it counted 93 members whereas in 1847 the number had increased to 251. The influential inhabitants of Morija, Jeremiah and his wife Lydia, Pauline Matete, etc. were among the Christians.

Letsie, on the other hand, who at one time had seemed inclined to turn to Christianity, had definitely broken away from it and a judicial murder which he committed in 1847, gave Rev. Arbousset cause to blame him publicly in front of all the inhabitants of Morija.

Thaba-Bosigo, where since 1839 Mr. Dyke helped Rev. Casalis, more especially with the school, was a very important station, situated as it was at the foot of the mountain on which Moshesh resided. Being in the immediate vicinity of the chief was, it is true, the cause of peculiar difficulties which gave the Church less scope to develop. On the other hand, it was an excellent centre for the evangelization of the tribe as a whole. Messengers arrived daily at the court of the great chief ; he came down with them to the Sunday services, which he attended regularly ; in this way a great number of Basutos

and of notabilities from outside the country came in contact with the Gospel. Rev. Casalis had also a great and difficult task as adviser of Moshesh in his relations with the White people. He had often to act as his interpreter and secretary, and his prudence and his astuteness made it possible for him ably to perform the delicate task which the occasion demanded. No other man would have come out of the ordeal unscathed.

That special position complicated the spiritual work and did it harm. Rev. Casalis could not devote his whole time to it, nor had he the taste and the gifts of Rev. Arbousset for itinerant evangelization. He was more of an office man, using his pen by preference for the advancement of the Mission. To him we owe, as we have already stated, the major part of the translation of the New Testament and a number of our best Sesuto hymns. His congregation, though smaller than that at Morija, gave him great encouragement. Most of its members lived at Thaba-Bosigo itself, and few Christians were to be found in the neighbouring villages. This proved later to be a weakness for that Church which had allowed Morija to outdistance it and had not taken sufficient care to extend the work of evangelization throughout the district. In 1844 there were at Thaba-Bosigo 59 full members, and in 1847 there were 128. Several of Moshesh's sons or brothers and also a few of his principal counsellors were members of the Church.

Moshesh himself was maintaining his attitude of benevolence towards the missionaries, and openly befriended Christianity. He had even abolished circumcision in his own family. He attended Church services regularly, occasionally explaining the Gospel to his

people, but yet he remained outside the Church. The missionaries had not given up hope of some day witnessing his conversion. To them it seemed impossible that such an intelligent man, so far above everyone around him and who seemed at heart so near the Kingdom of God, should not eventually resolve to belong to it. In this respect also they showed great optimism. But one of the true secrets of the success of the first missionaries in the first period of their activities was to be found in that unbounded faith which led them, notwithstanding everything, to believe always in the victory of good over evil.

At Mekuatleng, where the clan of the Bataungs and its chief Moletsane resided, Rev. Daumas had succeeded in establishing an excellently organised station. The village where the Christians dwelt was under his immediate management. The number of converts increased, though less rapidly than on the stations of which we have just spoken. From 42 in 1844 it had grown to 95 in 1847. A large church had been built and the school gave encouragement. There also, signs of serious and uninterrupted progress could be witnessed.

Berea and Bethesda, founded only in 1843, had found it difficult to make a start. Conversions were still rare, and the missionaries were far from finding in their work the same encouragements as had fallen to the lot of those who had preceded them in Basutoland. In 1847 Berea could boast of only 22 full members. Bethesda had the same number. It looked as if the Gospel had not, in those two places, the same attraction as at Morija or at Thaba-Bosigo ; the population had not yet had time to become sufficiently acquainted with it. The clan of

the Baphutis, who lived round about Bethesda under the rule of Moorosi, has always been particularly refractory to Christianity. Besides, Moorosi left in 1846 to settle on the south bank of the Orange River, where we shall find him later on ; most of his people followed him there and thus the station and its immediate neighbourhood were temporarily depopulated. As for Mosheh's brother, Mohale, whose village was a short distance away, he was not too favourably disposed towards Christianity. It was new soil, seemingly harder than elsewhere ; but once cleared and patiently ploughed, it was also one day to bear a large crop.

New missionaries, too few however for all the needs, had come to reinforce their elders. This had allowed the Mission to found three urgently needed new stations, and to thus occupy various parts of the country where the doors were open for the Gospel.

Chief Molapo, son of Moshesh, had been chosen by his father to occupy the country to the north of Thaba-Bosigo. It was in that direction that the limits of Basutoland were the most restricted. Moshesh wanted to place his son in that part of the country, either to prevent the Batlokoas fom spreading any further, or, more probably, to regain little by little part of the territory that had belonged to his forefathers, and which the Batlokoas occupied since 1824. He had made an agreement with Sekonyela, their Paramount Chief, so that the latter would not object to Molapo settling there. That was the beginning of the expansion of the Basutos to the north. Their national interests pointed to that step ; in fact made it imperative. Moshesh still hoped to win Sekonyela over by gentleness and diplomacy, and to bring

about the amalgamation of the two tribes which spoke the same language and followed the same customs. He knew that in the event of his not succeeding, he would be able, when the right moment came, to compel Sekonyela to give him back his country. But from all points of view it was better to avoid a rupture. Molapo found himself in a delicate position at Morija where he was close to his elder brother Letsie, who was jealous of him, and he naturally looked forward to having his own village and a district over which he would be master.

As he was a Christian, the idea of leaving without a missionary to accompany him, was distasteful to him,and Moshesh felt the same. But Molapo was made to delay longer than was wise and many difficulties were unnecessarily put in his way ; Rev. Arbousset, fearing that away from Morija and its Christian traditions,Molapo could run the risk of falling back into paganism, endeavoured to prevent or delay his departure, and failed to understand the political reasons that made that departure a matter of necessity.

That persistent opposition had the effect of irritating the young chief, who already found it difficult to bear the rather heavy yoke which his missionary imposed upon him. When at last Molapo left to take possession of his new district, he was already partly shaken in his faith. However, in 1846 it was possible to give him the missionary he wished to have, by placing Rev. Keck near him at a place that was given the name of Cana. A new Christian centre was thus established. This was the first Mission station in Upper Basutoland, a part of the country in which, in years to come, a great popula-

tion was to settle. The missionaries were hoping that under the guidance of a new missionary Molapo would again become the determined and zealous Christian he had once been. Unfortunately that hope was not to materialise.

The next year (1847) a new station, Hebron, was established to the south-west of Basutoland, in the territory lying between the Orange and the Caledon Rivers, the ownership of which Boer immigrants were beginning to dispute to Moshesh. It was hoped that the presence of a missionary would help to ensure the rights of the tribe. Here again, as often happened in Basutoland, the national interests and those of the Mission were at one. There lived also in those parts a large population that was clamouring for the preaching of the Gospel. In 1847 Rev. Cochet began there a career that was to be particularly difficult and painful, living, as he did,on the boundaries of the country where incessant wars were soon to thwart his activity, and twice entirely ruined his station.

At the same time as it was decided to establish the Hebron station, the Conference determined to send Mr. Dyke, who was then about to be ordained, to found the station of Hermon between Beersheba and Morija.

Dr. Lautré was to replace Rev. Dyke at Thaba-Bosigo. The site of the new station was chosen at a small chief's, Letanta by name, on the right bank of the Caledon. Rev. Dyke was introduced to the chiefs and to their people as their missionary ; everything seemed settled, and the name of Hermon already figured among those of the Mission stations of Basutoland. But, as a matter of fact, that station was never really founded : just as

Rev. Dyke, back from a journey to Cape Town, was about to take possession, the events narrated in the next chapter took place and compelled the Mission to stop its forward march for a time. When at last in 1853 Hermon could be occupied, it was on the left bank of the Caledon that it was placed. That removal was good in all respects, for if it had been established on the right bank of the Caledon, as had been decided in 1847, that station would have been taken away from us in 1868, as was the case with several others.

In establishing those three new stations the missionaries were answering, within the limits of their strength the incessant calls they were receiving from all directions. They realised that it was necessary to take advantage of the doors that were then open but might be closed the next day. The work, already big, seemed to them small compared with what it should be. Their aim was to bring the Gospel to the whole tribe. In order to do so, it was necessary to place missionaries everywhere and to create new centres of evangelization. But as the lack of both men and funds prevented them from carrying out their desire, they thought out a new plan whereby they could prepare for the future. In 1846 they decided to establish a secondary school or seminary where Native catechists and Basuto teachers would be trained. Through them and with them, it would then become possible to undertake the evangelization of the whole of Basutoland.

It strikes one as remarkable that such a scheme, which to-day seems so simple and so natural, should not have been thought of much earlier. To appeal to the Native Christians themselves, to make use of them in

order to educate and christianise their fellowmen, does not that seem the method which common sense would dictate ? But we must remember that in those times, Protestant Missions almost everywhere in South Africa were still groping to find their way; and that, with the wise caution and prudence which characterised them, our missionaries of the first generation were afraid, above all, of getting ahead of their times and of committing errors that might compromise their work. If we are not mistaken, no such institution existed as yet at that time in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope. The ideas prevailing then were that only European missionaries could do useful and lasting work.

Thus, when it decided to open its seminary, the Conference of the Missionaries in Basutoland took a step of courageous initiative. It decided to appeal to Rev. Lemue, of Motito, to undertake the work, for he was a man whose gifts appeared to designate him for it. Mr. Lauga was to assist him in the practical part of the work. As, for many reasons which the missionaries deemed to be of the utmost importance, it was considered necessary to shield the future teachers and catechists from the influence of the national and heathen elements, it was decided to place the school outside Basutoland and a fairly large piece of ground was therefore acquired between Beersheba and Bethulie and the station of Carmel was founded.

While understanding the reasons which guided the Conference in its choice and while appreciating their force, the decision arrived at cannot but be regretted. It very soon became apparent that it would have been far better to have established the school in the centre of

the territory. In any case, the wars that were soon to take place hindered and retarded its establishment so much that it long remained a mere scheme and was opened only twenty years later, and then not at Carmel, but at Morija. One cannot but lament that long delay, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, remains incomprehensible. The net result thereof was that Rev. Lemue was cramped in a work too small for his capabilities, and that precious time was lost.

But at that time those consequences could not have been foreseen. Three new stations had just been decided upon. The Mission was on the ascendant. Notwithstanding a few disquieting signs that were just beginning to show themselves at the horizon, the opening of an era of expansion and progress similar to the one that had just gone was visible. Better equipped, the Mission would be in a position to do more. It had now eleven stations, nine of which were within the territory proper of Moshesh. The missionaries were more numerous than they had ever been and others were being prepared in Paris to come over and join them soon.

Looking back at the ground already covered, one could not but thank God for all He had allowed His servants to accomplish The Mission which had been begun in such a small way and had for so many years witnessed practically no conversions, now beheld crowding round it a mass of converts born of its labour. A great Church, all the members of which had been won over from paganism, now lived and progressed where fifteen years earlier the very name of Jesus Christ was still unknown.

In 1847 there were already 1246 full members of the

Church and nearly 600 Catechumens, that is about 2000 adult Christians in Basutoland. During the latter years the impulse that was moving the nation towards the Gospel had been accelerated and there was no serious reason to lead one to believe that that movement would slacken. When beholding all that had been accomplished, the missionaries, cheered by such wonderful blessings, felt their hearts swell within them ; and they also could cry out : "Up till now Jehovah has succoured us !"

That year 1847 marks the end of the peaceful and joyful expansion of the Mission. Up till then no serious obstacle had impeded its progress. Circumstances had all been in its favour. But soon everything was to undergo a change. The events which were brewing were destined to make the Mission pass so to say through the furnace, and not only delay its progress but stop it altogether. Henceforth it would pursue its work under completely different circumstances, in the midst of wars and political upheavals, and it would have to deal with the opposition of a large portion of the tribe. The time had passed when everyone accepted it and looked on it as the centre round which one and all should gather.

IV

Trials of the Mission, set-back of Christianity (1848—1854)

The year 1848 marked, for Basutoland, the beginning of a period of disturbances and wars that were to last twenty full years. For the Mission it denoted more than a halt ; it marked a set-back, almost a disaster.

In France, for the first time, a deficit, although small, had been experienced in the finances of the Society. Panic-stricken, that Society decided to close the Mission House, to send back to their homes the seven pupils who were being trained as missionaries and to abandon the three new mission stations (Cana, Hebron and Hermon) that had just been founded in Basutoland. Only reasons of the first magnitude could have justified the adoption of such stern measures ; we are unable today to find any such reasons.

The decision had been taken before the February Revolution ; that event had thus not influenced it, except perhaps that the Directors of the Mission House may have had some presentiment of the universal commotion which it was about to produce in the whole world. Notwithstanding the considerable credit balance which the

end of the 1848 financial year revealed in the coffers of the Society, the decisions taken were in no way altered.

Not only had the Basutoland Mission to give up the three stations it had just established and which were so indispensable, but its future, to say nothing of its very existence, was in jeopardy, since no new recruits could now ever be sent. The students had left, never to come back. No more painful blow could ever have been dealt to the Mission.

At the very time when it most required help from France, it was being left practically to its own resources.

It was only in 1850, that is two years afterwards, that a new missionary, Rev. Jousse, was at last despatched from Paris, but for Motito, not for Basutoland. Seven long years were to elapse before a new man was sent in the person of Rev. Coillard. For twelve years Basutoland received no reinforcements. That situation, which is without precedent, explains why the missionaries, cast down by their local difficulties and the want of success in the following years, gradually became disheartened.

In South Africa, also, matters had taken a grave and unforeseen turn. The consequences of the exodus of the Boers were making themselves felt and, other causes of trouble were presenting themselves. The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope had been at war with the Kaffirs since 1846. To the north of the Orange the position was becoming threatening. In 1845 already, the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir. G. Maitland, had been obliged to place a resident officer at Bloemfontein, in order to prevent armed conflicts between the immigrants and the Natives. Major Warden had there a delicate and badly

defined task ; he enjoyed, however, a moral authority respected by all, Black and White alike, which allowed him to restore good relations between Moshesh and Sekonyela in 1847. This was perhaps a token of peace for the future.

But with the arrival of a new Governor, Sir Harry Smith, British policy was to undergo a sudden change. He was popular with the Boer immigrants, by whose side he had fought in 1835 against the Kaffirs, and was eager to be useful to them and at the same time to induce them to accept England's suzerainty. He thought that it would be an easy matter for him to realise his aims, and so, at the beginning of 1848, he crossed the Orange without the least hesitation, had a meeting with Moshesh at Winburg and succeeded in obtaining the approval of the chief of the Basutos to all his plans. It is quite evident that Moshesh was unable to understand all that was asked of him. In fact, Sir H. Smith did not give him time to think the matter over. A conversation of a few minutes had settled everything.

On the 3rd of February the Governor proclaimed England's sovereignty over the whole country lying between the Orange and the Vaal. The Queen's protection was to extend over all the inhabitants; Black and White would be her children. But Sir H. Smith did not realise the practical difficulties which the execution of his plan was bound to bring about and did not foresee the tight corner into which he would find himself driven. He believed that his personal prestige would enable him to settle everything. But he was soon disillusioned. The Boers, on whom he thought that he could reckon, rose against him as soon as his back was turned ; Pretorius,

at the head of a Commando, drove Major Warden out of Bloemfontein ; everything was confusion. Sir H. Smith came back hastily, this time with soldiers, defeated the Boers at Boomplaats, and restored British rule in the "Sovereignty of the Orange", and Pretorius and his partisans retired to the North of the Vaal.

The policy of the Governor could now develop without hindrance. In the main it consisted of establishing a well defined boundary between the White immigrants and the Native tribes. The Whites would be under the jurisdiction of the British Resident, whereas the Natives would remain under that of their own chiefs. In reality the latter would be vassals of the British Crown. As a matter of fact their exact position was never well defined, and Moshesh never considered himself a subject of the Queen.

The Resident had orders to respect the legitimate rights of both sides. But how was he to do it ? In a Treaty made in 1843 and never abrogated, Moshesh had been acknowledged master of a vast territory forming a good third at least of the "Sovereignty of the Orange". A certain number of Boer immigrants had settled in that territory.

How to do justice to the real or to the alleged rights of both sides and how to steer clear of a clash between the interest of the two parties, was indeed an awkward problem to solve. Justice, which he had wanted to serve, soon remained in the background. It would have taken too long and been too difficult to decide by a serious enquiry, which side was right ; besides, the risk of having to go counter to the interests of the Europeans would have been too great. The simplest was therefore to draw

a line of demarcation between the Whites and the Blacks without taking into account either strict justice or the history of the country, but solely the respective positions of both sides as they stood at that moment. And thus all the Boers who could prove having occupied their farms or having acquired rights to their occupation before the 3rd February 1848, that is the date of Sir Harry Smith's proclamation, were to be entitled to retain them. The question as to whether the Boers had any right to such occupation was not even broached. Any way, by this arrangement the Basutos were certain to retain a considerable portion of their territory.

For Moshesh the situation was still more complicated by the presence of the petty foreign headmen, such as Moroke, whom he had allowed to settle in his country. He considered them as vassals or semi-vassals who had come to live on his territory. They, on the other hand, declared themselves to be independent, and desired to be acknowledged as owners and rulers of the territories which they occupied. It was impossible for the British Resident to ignore them. According to the instructions he had received, his duty was to see that peace should exist between the different tribes, to prevent recourse to arms, and even to punish recalcitrants, if necessary.

During the first months of his term of office, he seems to have honestly tried to fathom the position; but little by little, under the influence of certain people who had an axe to grind, he more and more openly took the part of the petty chiefs against Moshesh and prompted them to join hands against Moshesh and the chief Moletsane, of the Bataungs.

Without any right to do so and without any previous enquiry, he declared in an arbitrary manner that they were independent of Moshesh. Instead of endeavouring, as was his duty, to put an end to the war that had broken out between Moshesh and Sekonyela, he incited the latter to give fresh provocation that restarted the trouble. He made use of him and of his allies, the Korannas, to bear such pressure on Moshesh that in 1849 the latter was eventually forced to accept the famous "Warden Line", that is, the boundary which Major Warden had arbitrarily fixed between the Basutos and the Boers. That boundary deprived Moshesh of a vast territory on which several thousands of his subjects resided and which included our two mission stations of Beersheba and Hebron; but in that way the Boers were enabled to keep all their farms.

The Basutos submitted for the time being, but their hearts were filled with bitterness and when a favourable opportunity presented itself, as was soon to happen, they would show Major Warden that they were men who knew how to fight and not the despicable enemies he believed them to be.

To be able to gauge accurately the result of that absurd and culpable policy, one should follow in the Basutoland Records the different incidents that marked its course. We cannot here enter into details. Suffice it to say that within a year a formidable reaction had set in from one end of the country to the other against the British Protectorate. Both Whites and Blacks had had enough of it. Moshesh, who had asked for it because he had seen in that protection the only possible security for him and for his tribe against the attacks of the Boers, now

found himself in a most painful position. The concessions repeatedly made by him had been made solely for the purpose of avoiding an open breach that would have turned the great Queen and himself into enemies. In the matter of the Warden Line he had conceded so much that his people were grumbling and he ran a grave risk of their turning against him. He had to take into account the opinions of the tribe; he dared do nothing more against it.

His sons, his brothers, his counsellors openly condemned him and accused him of giving away too much. They did not understand the wisdom and the prudence that underlined his policy. The great majority of the people foresaw nothing but their frontiers invaded, their rights trampled under foot, their country cut into pieces, and the farmers definitely masters of a large tract of their territory. But what was perhaps even more painful to them was to have to witness vassal chiefs such as Moroke, or inimical ones like Sekonyela treated as equals of or even as above Moshesh (1). Petty chiefs without any importance whatsoever set themselves up as masters of some parts of Basutoland, and their pretensions were considered as legitimate by the British authorities. The Basutos could not understand why Moshesh tolerated being treated in such a fashion when he could so easily have destroyed those petty chiefs.

The French missionaries helplessly witnessed events which could so easily bring about the ruin of their work

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(1) Sir H. Smith even went so far as to declare that he considered Moroke to be the Supreme or Paramount chief of all the tribes of the Sovereignty.

together with that of the tribe. Their endeavours to explain the true position to the British Resident and to Sir H. Smith, to point out to them the injustices that were being done, and to warn them of the danger they were running in driving such a powerful chief to extremes, were all in vain ; they were not believed and were told that their very position as Moshesh's missionaries did not allow them to judge of things impartially and that they exaggerated the chief's power, which would crumble down at the very first attack against him.

Their position with regard to the Natives was even more difficult : They tried to preach peace to all ; they endeavoured to make Moshesh and his people understand that it was necessary above all to avoid an open rupture with England, as such could easily lead to the complete ruin of Basutoland. But the Natives did not listen to them either and accused them of siding with the British. Their European origin made the Natives suspect them.

On the other hand both the Boers and the British declared that without the missionaries Moshesh would not have dared resist. What made their position even more painful was that they were accused of being the real cause of all the trouble. When one reads in the "Basutoland Records" the numerous documents referring to that disturbed period, one can realise how much the missionaries laboured, grieved and suffered, always exposed to the worst calumnies and to endless insults.

The wars between the Natives had started afresh in 1848, bringing with them their train of distress and disorder. After twenty years of peace Sekonyela, the Paramount Chief of the Batlokoas, had attacked Moshesh, and the latter, whose patience was exhausted, pounced on

his adversary in 1849 and deprived him of a large portion of his cattle.

The missionaries disapproved of such reprisals both from the point of view of Christian ideals and for political reasons ; they feared that Moshesh's action might bring England's vengeance on the tribe. They erred in interfering in too marked a degree with those questions of Native policy, and in using their spiritual authority in questions with which they were not concerned. They went so far as to forbid them, under penalty of ecclesiastical censure, to partake in a war which they disapproved of, and even decided to apply disciplinary measures against all the Christians who had carried away cattle belonging to the enemy and refused to give it back. Such intervention in questions that were out of their sphere was a serious mistake. The missionaries unquestionably exceeded their rights ; they forgot that certain domains are exclusively under the control of civil authority and that the missionary, as well as any other citizen, must render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's.

Lest we judge more harshly than is necessary of a mistake that had such serious consequences, let us remember that the boundaries between the two domains are always difficult to define, and more especially in a country such as Basutoland was at that time. There was an inclination to look upon the missionaries as the chiefs of the Christians ; and in some stations as Beersheba, and even to some extent Morija and Mekuatleng, they enjoyed special rights that ordinarily come under civil authority. Certain customs which national tradition allowed and legalised were in their eyes contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. They disapproved inter alia

of plunder and cattle raids, which the laws of war have always allowed.

In 1841 already a Christian had been placed under church discipline at Mekuatleng for an act of that kind and there had been no opposition to it. But what it had been possible to achieve in an isolated case and in connection with an expedition unauthorised by the Paramount Chief, became a dangerous and exceedingly impolitic matter when an endeavour was made to apply the principle in a national war as popular as that against the Batlokoas and which had been brought on by Sekonyela himself.

The interference of the missionaries was thus doubly unfortunate. It is impossible to approve of it from any point of view, and the conditions under which it occured make it all the more blameworthy. The missionaries seemed to side with an enemy particularly hated There was already a certain amount of feeling against them, as people resented their abuse, on occasions, of their ecclesiastical power. The Christian sons of Moshesh, with Molapo and Masopha at their head, bore with impatience the rather too stern authority which was sometimes enforced somewhat indiscreetly. Instead of exercising discipline rigorously in such a crisis, it would have been far wiser to have worked more gently and to have avoided pushing the exigencies of Christian law too far. He who pulls the rope too tight breaks it.

It was not long before the consequences of that mistake were felt. A great number of Christians, the sons and brothers of Moshesh at their head, left the Church, most of them for good. A large number of them, it is true, were already semi-renegades ; they were at any

rate on the road to apostasy. They had accepted Christianity not long before withou gauging what it really meant for them ; the first enthusiasm had vanished and the narrow path had no attractions for them. Not only did the Church lose a great number of Christians, amongst whom were some of the chiefs and the pick of the youth of the country, but, worse than that, a serious breach had taken place between the Church and the tribe. For the first time since its foundation, the Mission was not in harmony with the national cause.

That was an almost irreparable misfortune. and something of it has always remained in the minds of the Basutos, more especially in those of the chiefs. The defections of 1849 due to the "oxen of the Batlokoas", is one of the nefarious pages in the history of the Mission. It suffered through it for a long time. For the station of Thaba-Bosigo especially it was almost a disaster. The number of Christians, which in 1847 amounted to 128 had fallen to 68 in 1855. They had not all left the Church at the same time, but little by little those who hesitated and were weak followed the lead. In a few months the Mission had lost a large portion of its gains.

This very serious crisis happened unfortunately at the very moment, when for other reasons the Mission was already considerably weakened. In pursuance of orders received from the Head Committee, Cana, Hebron and Hermon had been given up. The absence of Rev. Casalis, who had been sent to France to plead the cause of Basutoland, was most unfortunate. His presence in Basutoland at that moment would have eased matters considerably ; his mind so clear, so shrewd and so prudent would have been of great service and might have

been instrumental in preventing the mistake that had just been made.

The prestige of the Mission had dropped considerably and the missionaries themselves suffered from the downhearted feeling which prevailed everywhere. The difference between their hopes and the reaction of heathendom that was at its height, was too great to be borne with fortitude. Nevertheless, downcast though they may have been, they never completely lost courage. They went on with their work quietly and faithfully, and notwithstanding bitterness and sorrow they never ceased to help the Basutos and their chiefs with their influence and their advice ; they lost nothing of their love and of their solicitude for the nation whose cause they had espoused and to which so many ties bound them. Besides, they were hoping that this would be a passing crisis, that the great majority of the Christians would remain faithful to them and that the tribe itself would not wait long before returning to them.

The political horizon, however, was not clearing up, on the contrary ; and the missionaries were beginning to wonder whether Basutoland could come out safe and sound from the war that was threatening. The bursting point was reached in 1851. With insufficient forces at his command Major Warden decided to attack Chief Moletsane, against whom he considered that he had an important grievance. This was tantamount to declaring war against Moshesh, as the latter could not allow his vassal and ally to be crushed. Fighting began near Mekuatleng on the 30th June. The Bataungs, beaten at first, soon got the help of the Basutos under the leader-

ship of Letsie, Molapo and Mopeli (1). Major Warden's Barolongs were put to flight ; 150 of them were killed with assegais, or thrown down the perpendicular rocks that crown Viervoet Hill. Major Warden, vanquished and humiliated, had to take the road back to Bloemfontein. His authority had now vanished ; the peace of the Sovereignty was at Moshesh's mercy. But the latter was not a man to take an unfair advantage of his victory. That allowed him to abide quietly the course of events; for the moment he wanted nothing more.

The missionaries again remonstrated with the British Government ; this time they were listened to. Sir H. Smith, whose policy had been a failure in Kaffraria as well as to the north of the Orange, was recalled. A new Governor, Sir G. Cathcart, took his place. He was a soldier, an honest and straightforward man as well as a statesman of high standing. His orders were to reinstate in the Sovereignty England's much weakened prestige, while time showed whether it would not be better to abandon a territory which it had not been possible to administer properly. Two commissioners, Mr. Hogge and Mr. Owen, were sent to study the position and prepare the way for Sir G. Cathcart.

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(1) Mopeli, a brother of Moshesh, has played a very important part in the country. A Christian at first, he also had reverted to polygamy. After the war of 1865—1868 between the Basuto and the Orange Free State, he acknowledged the rule of that State and was given a "Reserve" at Witzieshoek, to the north-east of Basutoland, where he died in about 1898. He had never completely forsaken Christianity and he had an excellent influence on his clan. He started a veritable crusade against intoxicating liquor in Basutoland and was largely instrumental in stamping out its use in that country.

Their first aim was to put an end to the complications which the intervention of Pretorius and the Transvaal Boers was causing. It is interesting to note that it was owing to the war between Major Warden and the Basutos that the famous Sand River Agreement was made in 1852, by which England acknowledged the independence of the Transvaal. Two years later the same cause brought about the abandonment of the "Sovereignty" by England and the foundation of the Orange Free State. These two important events in the history of South Africa were the logical consequence of the events of which Basutoland was then the scene.

The Commissioners entered into negotiations with Moshesh. It was essential to bring him to a state of submission sufficiently complete to enable England to recover her prestige without having to resort to another expedition. There were two important questions to settle. The first was the compensation to be paid by Moshesh for the cattle which he had raided from the Boers during the disturbances of the last three years. Moshesh acknowledged his obligations in that respect, theoretically at any rate, and bound himself to give back the cattle thus raided. The second question, that of the boundary between the Basutos and the White settlers was more thorny. The Commissioners, recognising the wrong done to Moshesh, finally promised to substitute a more equitable boundary for the Warden Line.

But these matters dragged considerably. Moshesh was in no hurry to gather the cattle promised ; the Commissioners, on the other hand, were in no haste to fix the new boundaries. Meanwhile Moshesh became in-

volved in a new war with Sekonyela, and in 1852 the latter was defeated anew, this time for good. He owed his life and the retention of the major part of his country solely to the moderation and to the political sense of the Paramount Chief of the Basutos, who was endeavouring to unite all the tribes under his authority. It was in his interests, naturally, not to drive his enemy to extreems.

In the interval, Sir. G. Cathcart had secured the submission of the Kaffirs of the Cape Colony, so that he was now free to attend to matters to the north of the Orange River. In November 1852 he crossed the Orange River, at the head of a small army of 2,500 English soldiers, and on the 13th December he pitched his camp at Platberg, on the right bank of the Caledon, at about twelve and a half miles from Thaba-Bosigo. On the 15th of December Moshesh had an important interview with him. The Governor spoke as a master and exacted complete submission and the payment by the Basutos of a fine of 10,000 head of cattle, which they were only given three days' time to gather. Moshesh pleaded in vain to be given more time. Sir G. Cathcart listened neither to his entreaties nor to those of Revs. Casalis and Dyke, who had accompanied the Chief to Platberg. Moshesh was not able to gather the cattle in such a short time, and on the appointed day he delivered 3,500 head only. In terms of his ultimatum, the Governor crossed the Caledon with his troops the next day. His aim was to humble the Basutos and to himself take the cattle which they had not been able or had not wanted to bring to him. The battle of Berea, which was fought on the 20th December 1852, is one of the important events in the history of South Africa.

The result was well-nigh a disaster for the British troops. They were on the verge of a total defeat. Only the presence of mind and the firmness of the British general saved the situation. The next day, having lost 37 men, including an officer, and not having been able to reach Thaba-Bosigo, the troops had to retire, and re-crossed the Caledon. From 2000 to 3000 head of cattle were all that was gained by Sir G. Cathcart in this encounter, and he had seen for himself that Moshesh's power was far greater than he had imagined. England had nothing to gain by continuing a war which might be long and costly and which, besides, would bring neither honour nor profit.

Moshesh, on his part, although he had repulsed Sir G. Cathcart's attack without serious loss, understood what he stood to lose if hostilities were resumed. The discipline of the British troops had made a deep impression on the Basutos and a portion of the people were already seeking refuge in the mountains.

Following the line of conduct which he had always taken Moshesh once more turned his mind towards conciliation and aimed at obtaining peace by an act of submission which would cost him nothing. He fully realised that General Cathcart would be only too pleased to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to conclude an agreement which was as necessary to him as it was to Moshesh himself.

The very evening of the fight, after having taken Rev. Casalis's advice, Moshesh sent to the British General a short letter of submission which read :

Thaba Bosigo, Midnight, 20 December 1852

Your Excellency,

This day you have fought against my people, and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for the Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you, — you have shown your power, — you have chastised, — let it be enough I pray you; and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

Your humble servant,

Moshesh.

This letter, according to Theal, is the cleverest diplomatic document ever written in South Africa. Without declaring himself vanquished, without making any real concession, he gave his adversary an opportunity to withdraw honourably, and even, if he wished, to claim the victory. Sir G. Cathcart could easily accept those conditions; neither he nor Moshesh had been vanquished. But the latter had obtained for himself and for his people what he desired above all, namely, peace with England and the right to govern independently.

Sir G. Cathcart returned to the Cape Colony with his troops, trusting to Moshesh's good faith, and certain that the chief would henceforth follow a policy of peace. He had no cause for regret; Moshesh had promised to leave the Boers in peace in the future and to consider them no longer as enemies. He stood honourably by his word. Ever since the Treaty of Berea, peace was maintained in the Sovereignty between the Basutos and the European settlers.

But England was firmly decided to withdraw from the territory lying to the north of the Orange River. A special Commissioner, Sir G. Clerk, was sent there as early as 1853 to carry out that decision. On the 11th of March 1854, after having by a special convention dated the 23rd of February 1854, ceded all the sovereign rights of England to the settlers living in the Sovereignty, and having formally acknowledged the independence of the Orange Free State, Sir G. Clerk left Bloemfontein, taking the English magistrates with him. Moshesh had travelled to Bloemfontein to bid him farewell and to meet the members of the new Government. He had just then, in a last campaign, put a definite end to Sekonyela's power and conquered the territory of the Batlokoas. With the exception of the Barolongs, all the Native tribes were now united under his government. His authority was no longer contested by anyone. The policy of Sir H. Smith and of Major Warden had failed. A united and compact Basutoland now stood side by side with the new Boer Republic and seemed strong enough to maintain its rights and its integrity against it.

For the time being everything breathed of peace. Blacks and Whites alike desired nothing more than to be able to live quietly side by side. The position was now, however, very different from what it had been in 1848 before the unfortunate intervention of Sir H. Smith. The European inhabitants of the Orange were united into a State which, although weak at the time, was destined to grow in strength and riches, and with which Moshesh would have to reckon. Moreover, England had put an end to the treaty concluded with the

Mosuto chief in 1843 and had bound herself not to ally herself with him again ; that is at any rate what one of the articles of the agreement signed at Bloemfontein seemed to imply. Under that same agreement, England allowed the Boers to buy freely in the Cape Colony whatever arms and ammunition they might need, and at the same time prohibited her traders from selling any to the Basutos. If, in the event of a conflict with Moshesh and the Basutos, the British were to remain neutral, such neutrality would be entirely to the advantage of the Free State. A Sesuto proverb says, "The White people do not condemn each other." Basutoland was soon to experience the truth of this again.

What had become of the Mission during those six years of disturbance and wars ? We have already mentioned the heathen reaction which, starting in 1848 reached its culminating point in 1849 through the defection of so many Christians. We have already described the painful blow sustained by the Mission through the order received from headquarters in Paris, to abandon the three newly founded stations. All this had deprived the Mission of much of its prestige and gravely compromised its future. The events which had taken place between 1849 and 1852 were not of a nature to uplift a humiliated and depressed Church, all the more so as the future was difficult to read and as until the day following the battle of Berea there was a constant fear of a catastrophe that might put an end to the very existence of the tribe.

But there was more than a dead stop in the development of the Mission which had been so remarkable till then ; there was a real set-back. The figures show it :

at the end of 1847 there were in Basutoland 1,216 full members and less than 300 catechumens. Thaba-Bosigo and Morija had lost a great number of their Christians. Beersheba, which had 483 full members in 1849, had only 246 left in 1852, but here it may be said that the decrease was due to emigration perhaps more than to defection. The standard of Christian life had sunk everywhere; old defects and ancient customs were springing up again. Quite a number of those who had been believed to be real converts, had only been moved superficially, as it now appeared. As long as everything went smoothly, those Christians, sustained by their first-day enthusiasm and by the influence of the Mission, behaved in a manner worthy of the Gospel, but in times of difficulties and trials, they fell back upon their old selves. It was the reaction, only too natural, alas, which sooner or later inevitably follows periods of conversions and revivals. That was to be expected, but yet it took the missionaries unawares. They had so strongly believed and hoped that everything would continue to go smoothly, that those downfalls and defections pained them all the more and made them suffer cruelly.

The missionaries stood all this difficulty. As a matter of fact they were exaggerating the evil and taking for granted that every defection was a final step, whereas in most cases they had to deal with momentary failings or downfalls, from which the fallen would later recover, humbled, no doubt, but also stronger. A few lines quoted from a letter written by Rev. Casalis on his return to Basutoland early in 1851, indicate sufficiently what the missionaries suffered: ' On Tuesday morning (at Morija), we were suddenly awakened from our slumbers by a ter-

rible noise. Thousands of heathens had gathered at Letsie's residence to celebrate their festival. I thought I was dreaming. The yellings of the multitude, the dismal echoes of those dances awakened in my mind heart-rending reminiscences. It was like a frightful anachronism. So, after so many years of success we had reverted to the days of darkness and of a desperate struggle which we believed to be over for ever ! Alas ! The fact was there, only too evident. Political passions have turned the heads of these people and have given them a plausible pretext to revert to their savage customs !"

Rev. Casalis' grief can be even better understood when it is stated that the true instigator, the very life and soul of those heathen orgies was David Masopha, his son in faith, whom he had trusted most. But yet they would not despair of the future ; downhearted for a while, the missionaries soon recovered and renewed the struggle. In spite of all, they had faith in the future. In 1852 Rev. Arbousset wrote, "The Church at Morija is less numerous than formerly ; it is altogether withered and downhearted, but nevertheless it is still a Church." And Rev. Maitin wrote, "I do not know what the Lord has in store for us, but I believe that if the violence of the storm of political passions can abate there will still be a grand work to be done in Basutoland." But something had surely vanished, never to come back. The freshness and the zest with which the converts had been imbued, was no longer to be seen in Basutoland, for the new converts always bore in mind the fact that evil is ever present and that a fall is always possible; and they understood better that the Christian, though

converted, is not yet in every respect a new creature. They were thus inclined to get used to that thought too easily and to accept their weakness and their sin too readily as something quite natural. The missionaries also would no longer know the happiness of the early years : they would no longer have the same beautiful and native confidence in the future. Henceforth they would not be free from trembling while rejoicing ; at each new conversion they would ask themselves anxiously whether it were sincere or not ; at every new success they would wonder whether it were not the shadow of one.

The dream of seeing the whole tribe embracing the Gospel was now over. The hopes of the conversion of the whole nation had disappeared. Most of the chiefs had gone back to a kind of heathendom worse than that of the early days and believed that in that way they were increasing their own popularity. It was necessary, then, to re-start mission work on a new plan, aiming at reaching the people individually rather than the masses, the ordinary clan rather than the great chiefs. It would no doubt be a more humble, more difficult and slower process, but perhaps more sure and more efficient in the long run.

But if, in one way, everything was changed, if ruins were to be seen almost everywhere, the Mission had lost none of its really important positions. It was still strong enough to hope to regain, little by little, a great part of its influence, and repair the breaches. The older stations were all still in existence ; the attendance at divine service had been reduced in numbers, but had not altogether dwindled away The Churches had not died. The

old mutual trust between the tribe and its missionaries, though shaken for a time, was on the way to be restored. The Basutos had witnessed their missionaries remaining faithful to their cause at a time of the greatest danger. They had gone through the same hardships, had taken part in their sufferings, and the joy at the final deliverance had been shared by all. Public opinion was veering round in favour of the missionaries, who were still, and had never ceased to be the "fathers of the nation." This was clearly evident at the time of the great gathering convened in 1853 at Thaba-Bosigo to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Mission. That meeting was a proof that, notwithstanding passing misunderstandings, the bond between the tribe and the Mission still lasted and that no one thought of breaking it.

Two years after that important assembly, where he had once more been able to address the whole tribe, Rev. Casalis left Basutoland to return to Europe for good. The death of Mrs. Casalis had been a heavy blow to him, and his health had suffered from the trials and never-ending anxieties of the latter years. The Board of Directors in Paris had also appealed to him to come back to succeed Mr. Grandpierre as Director, and to re-open the Mission House that had been closed since 1848.

Rev. Jousse came from Motito to fill the vacancy thus caused at Thaba-Bosigo, and assumed duty in December 1854. A few weeks after, Rev. Casalis bade farewell to the people to whom for twenty-two years he had given the best of himself, and whom he was never to see again.

In his departure, Basutoland lost a tower of strength; in losing him, the Mission lost one of its pillars. He had

an influence on Moshesh that no other missionary ever possessed, and during his twenty-one years of service, he had done much to render the chief favourable to Christianity. He had helped him to save his people from the dangers that had at one time threatened them with destruction ; he had been his best counsellor and in some respects his foreign minister. As one of the three pioneers of the Basutoland Mission, of which he was with Arbousset and Rolland, the true founder, he had contributed in a very large measure to guide its march forward and to shape its traditions. He held very great authority in Basutoland. He left the country at a time when the Mission had lost some of its pristine freshness and sustained a momentary check, but he knew that it rested on sound and strongly laid foundations.

Basutoland and the Mission owe him a great debt, and up to his death, he continued to serve their cause in Europe, either with his able pen, or more especially as the General Director of the Paris Missionary Society. The two fine books which he published in 1859 and in 1882 (1) greatly helped to popularise Basutoland in the Churches of France and to make people sympathetic towards it. Basutoland has never forgotten him, and even to this day, he is remembered as "the man with the small, dark eyes" (mahloana-matsoana), the friend of Moshesh and of the Basutos, the first missionary of Thaba-Bosigo. The work, in the founding and building up of which he played such an important part will long remain, we hope, as a monument of the grace of God and a proof that such labour, devotion and faith have not been in vain.

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(1) "The Basutos" and "My Recollections".

V

The end of the first generation (1854—1860)

The abandonment of the Sovereignty and the creation of the Orange Free State had led to the belief for a time that the political situation had become normal and that the difficulties had been surmounted, at least for a while ; but these illusions were of short duration. Two States were now facing one another to the north of the Orange. The one was the new Boer Republic, still weak and unorganised, but destined to grow rapidly in strength; the other was the Native kingdom of Moshesh, which, like all Native principalities, lacked order and internal peace which only a civilised administration can establish.

How could it be possible for two adjoining authorities, so differently constituted, to be at peace for any length of time, especially in view of the fact that the Boers, with their instinctive contempt for all that pertained to the Blacks, could never agree to deal with the Basutos on a footing of equality. They looked upon Basutoland as a territory that was bound, sooner or later, to revert to them, and to which they, as the superior race, had a right. Was not that country their natural hinterland ? The Basutos, on the other hand, could not with good grace give up insisting upon their legitimate

right to the large district of which the Warden Line had deprived them ; nor were they prepared to stand being deprived of their hunting grounds for ever, from which they found themselves cut off by the farms of the Boers.

The important question of the limits had not been settled. Sir. G. Clerk, anxious to leave the Orange, had skillfully succeeded in avoiding the settlement. Moshesh had broached the subject at the time of his visit to Bloemfontein, but Sir G. Clerk had asked him not to speak about it, and from that the chief had gathered that the Warden Line had ceased to exist. That was, in fact, in conformity with what the authorities had repeatedly told him since 1851, and he thus considered the question as settled. As he said later on, Sir G. Clerk, when leaving the country, had taken away with him the boundaries imposed by Major Warden.

The Free State was, of course, of a totally different opinion. It also had excellent reasons in support of its view. In the minds of the settlers, the Warden Line, which had been fixed in 1849 and which had never been officially altered, existed in law as well as in fact. It was even said that Sir G. Clerk had expressed that view when answering a question from the new Government.

There was thus a difficult problem affecting both these States, and which would of necessity have to be solved some day. But for the present neither Moshesh nor the Boers had any desire to raise the point. Both lived in a provisional status quo, out of which each party endeavoured to get the most advantage. In the disputed territory, Boers and Basutos lived side by side and Native villages stood in close proximity to the settlers' farms.

The Free State exercised its jurisdiction over the European subjects, while the Basutos were under Moshesh. Such a state of affairs could not but become intolerable both for the whites and for the blacks. The time was bound to come when one of the two races would have to give way to the other.

Until about 1857, the relations between Moshesh and the Orange Republic remained of a correct, if not a friendly nature. The first president of the Free State, Mr. J. Hoffman, was a personal friend of the chief and of the missionaries. He remained in power only a few months, for the anti-Basuto party soon compelled him to resign. But even under his successor, Mr. Boshoff, the questions that might have divided the two states were settled peacefully, chiefly owing to the personal intervention of Sir George Grey, the new Governor of the Cape Colony.

The Mission took advantage of those few years of quietness to recover lost ground. Hebron had been occupied afresh in 1851 ; in June 1853 Rev. Dyke had founded the station of Hermon. There were thus eight mission stations in Basutoland, viz. Beersheba, Morija, Thaba-Bosigo, Berea, Bethesda, Mekuatleng, Hebron and Hermon ; in fact there were ten, if we count Bethulie and Carmel. Unfortunately the eminently necessary station of Cana had not been re-occupied and the Mission had no station in upper Basutoland, where Moshesh's authority was now uncontested. The long abandonment of such an important district was a grave mistake which was not remedied till 1859.

The religious work had begun to recover even more rapidly than had been hoped. At Thaba-Bosigo, Rev.

Jousse spoke of the great encouragement which the resumption of the forward march gave him. At Morija a new era seemed to have begun. There was indeed reason for gratitude. In 1857 Morija had more than regained what had been lost. With the help of the 340 full members of his Church, Rev. Arbousset could extend and develop the work of evangelization. He had made a useful experiment in establishing evening schools in a few distant villages ; these were the forerunners of the future out-stations. Thaba-Bosigo was recovering more slowly. A fairly large proportion of its members had been lost through emigration. But yet it still had 106 communicants in 1857.

Beersheba, which had suffered severely through an emigration which between 1850 and 1852 had reduced its population by at least one third, witnessed a welcome return of its inhabitants. The Church was beginning to progress again ; in 1857 it numbered 406 full members, a smaller figure, however, than ten years before.

There was evidence of progress everywhere in the Mission, but to no large extent as yet. In 1857 the general statistics showed a total of 1,381 full members, which was 160 more than in 1847 ; on the other hand there were only 407 catechumens. The grant total was 1,788 adult Christians, about the same number as in 1847. In ten years the Mission had made no progress ; it had hardly regained its position.

The missionaries were feeling the strain and laboured under discouraging circumstances. The trials they had gone through had been too severe and they felt that they did not get enough support from France. With the exception of Rev. Jousse, who had come from Mo-

tito in 1854, they had received no new recruits since 1846. The Mission House, which had been closed since 1848, was re-opened only in 1856, and it was thus impossible to hope for any immediate reinforcements, however urgent the need of them might be. And yet the number of the missionaries, too small already, had diminished. Rev. Casalis had left for good ; Rev. Daumas was proceeding to Europe on furlough ; Rev. Schrumpf was leaving for good. Others were growing old or getting weak. Gaps were occuring in the ranks of the missionaries, and an only too comprehensible lassitude was getting hold of them, just at the time when it was necessary to extend the work and to carry it on with new enthusiasm. One fact in that respect is significant. In 1855, Sir G. Grey offered a comparatively large sum of money to the Mission for the purpose of establishing a Normal and Industrial School in Basutoland proper. That is what it had been decided to do in 1846. The Conference gratefully accepted Sir G. Grey's offer, selected Hermon as a suitable place for the projected institution, and chose Rev. Dyke as its head. But the same happened as before : the school was never started ; and Sir G. Grey, finding that the Mission kept him waiting too long, gave the money to another mission Society in Kaffraria. This was the second time that the opportunity of having a Normal School had been lost and the fact was all the more regrettable as the Mission would have been free from the cost of establishing it. The only explanation that can be given for all those delays and for the quasi incapacity to take firm decisions and carry them out, is the state of depression from which the missionary body suffered.

Meanwhile a new storm was about to burst over the Mission. The relations between Moshesh and the authorities in the Free State had become strained by degrees and were now positively bad. The Boers, judging the moment to be favourable, were becoming quarrelsome, and began expelling the Basutos who were outside the Warden Line. The Free State believed that it had the right to do so. Inside that territory lived the important clans of Lebenya (who lived near Hebron) and Posholi, Moshesh's own brother. Posholi had made up his mind not to give way, and so he began making cattle raids on a large scale, thinking that he would compel the farmers to leave the country. The Boers had to feed him, he said, since they were depriving him of his territory. Moshesh did not approve of this chicanery and tried, but in vain, to put an end to it. He had, however, to give way to the pressure of public opinion and he allowed Posholi to start raiding the cattle of the Boers again (1).

The position was becoming intolerable ; only war could put a stop to it. Both sides were preparing for it. War broke out at the beginning of 1858. President Boshoff asked for heavy compensation for the farmers ; Moshesh refused to obey his summons, and on the 22nd March 1858 the Free State declared war against him. The commandos of the Boers were to invade Basutoland from two sides simultaneously. Moshesh had ordered his captains to withdraw before the enemy and

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(1) Posholi prided himself on being the "cannon of the Basutos mounted against the Boers".

to be content to retard his march forward. His intention was to deliver the decisive battle at Thaba-Bosigo.

The mission station at Beersheba was the first to suffer. The Boers attacked it as early as the 23rd March, the day after war had been declared. Situated as it was on the very border of Basutoland, it was entirely exposed. And what made its position even more critical, was the misunderstanding that prevailed concerning it. Rev. Rolland and his people believed themselves to be under Mosheh's rule and considered Beersheba as part of Basutoland. They had good reasons for their belief, for when in 1849 the British Government had established the Warden Line, it had been expressly specified that Beersheba was still part of Moshesh's territory; and ever since 1854 the Free State had never tried to exercise any authority over the territory of the station. But yet, in 1858, it claimed that Beersheba was within its boundaries, and President Boshoff ordered all its inhabitants to be disarmed before his troops marched into Basutoland. His orders were, further, that these arms should be taken by force if the inhabitants refused to give them up.

Neither Rev. Rolland nor the inhabitants of Beersheba knew that war had been declared. On the 23rd March the Boers surrounded the station and demanded the immediate disarming of the natives. Only a few minutes were given to Rev. Rolland to gather the arms. Without allowing him the necessary time the Boers opened fire and killed a certain number of disarmed people. The huts of the natives were set on fire, the cattle driven away, and the whole population removed as prisoners. Rev. Rolland himself was interned in the

neighbouring village of Smithfield. The church building and the houses occupied by the missionary's family were spared. War had thus begun by the destruction of one of the most prosperous mission stations in South Africa. The work which Rev. and Mrs. Rolland had carried on for twenty-three years with such energy, faith and perseverance was practically destroyed. Beersheba was never able to recover from that lamentable disaster.

The Boer commandos continued their march towards Basutoland. On the 28th April they reached Morija. Rev. Arbousset had just returned home from a journey to Cape Town. Letsie, after a feigned fight, fell back on Thaba-Bosigo. Rev. Arbousset deemed it more prudent for him and his family to leave the station and take refuge in the mountains. The Boers were exceedingly bitter against him and could have done him harm. They set fire to his house, pilfered his books and sold all his furniture by auction. In order to justify their behaviour, they made out that Rev. Arbousset had fired on them. This was a false and baseless accusation. The vast temple that had been inaugurated in January was spared, but the doors were broken to pieces and the pulpit desecrated. The Maeder family, (1) on the other hand, were not disturbed. Thus Morija underwent the fate of Beersheba. It seemed as if the Boers were waging war against the Mission as much as against Moshesh himself. The Arbousset family fled to the mountains for shelter but were compelled to give up their shelter there and to proceed to Bethesda Station, which was

(1) Mr. Maeder had been the assistant of Rev. Arbousset at Morija for the preceding few years.

reached after a painful march lasting a week through the mountains, in winter time, and over snow-covered paths.

A few days later, on the 6th May, the Boers appeared before Thaba-Bosigo. Moshesh had gathered his warriors there for the fight. The very sight of the inaccessible cliffs that crown the mountain was enough to dishearten the farmers. Besides, grave news had reached them. At the very time that they were setting Morija on fire, some Basuto troops had invaded the districts of Winburg and Caledon ; farms had been destroyed and cattle raided ; quite a large part of the Free State had been devastated. The Boer commando disbanded, as everyone wanted to go and protect his own farm and family. In fact, this amounted to an acknowledgment of defeat without fighting. The Free State was exhausted. President Boshoff proposed to Moshesh that they should come to terms, and the chief accepted.

If he had so wished and had felt free to do so, he could have compelled the Free State to grant him all the concessions asked for by his people. But it was never his policy to drive an adversary to extremes. Besides, he was afraid, and rightly, to incur the displeasure of the British Government if he appeared to take too much advantage of his victory. Sir G. Grey had offered his mediation ; Moshesh could not refuse it without danger.

After protracted negotiations, a peace treaty was signed at Aliwal North on the 29th September. Sir G. Grey, who had prepared it and practically imposed its acceptance on Moshesh, found himself in a delicate position. Personally he was anxious to see justice done

to the Basutos, but it was awkward to grant all that they were entitled to. European prestige would have suffered too much by it and it could have done harm to the Cape Colony itself. Besides, the Boer farmers, whom it would have been necessary to remove in order to give the country back to Moshesh, had received their farms from England herself in the days that Major Warden governed the Sovereignty. It was impossible for a British Governor not to take that into account. And so, as could have been foreseen, he made a patched up arrangement. The Warden Line was rectified in favour of the Basutos, and part of the contested territory lying between the Orange and the Caledon was given back to Moshesh. On the right bank of the Caledon the old limit was retained. The territory of Beersheba was definitely ceded to the Free State. The ownership of a farm of 6,000 morgen (1) surrounding the mission station, was awarded to our Missionary Society, which could either sell it or continue its mission work on it under the sovereignty of the Free State.

His respect for Sir G. Grey compelled Moshesh to agree to a treaty which restored to him part of the territory to which he had the right, but forced him to hand over the remainder to the Boers. No wonder that a feeling of bitterness remained in his heart. Every time a British Governor intervened on the pretence of helping him, it ended in his giving up a portion of his territory. He signed the treaty, but unwillingly. In reality this was but a truce ; Moshesh and the Boers knew quite

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(1) One morgen is roughly two acres, that is a little less than a French hectare.

well that sooner or later they would have to settle their quarrel finally and thus decide definitely who would get the upper hand.

For the Mission, the net result of the war was the ruin of Beersheba. Notwithstanding the difficulties that could be expected, it was decided that the Mission station should remain on its old site. But its future development was not possible. Subject to the laws of the Free State, too limited to be able to hold its population, it could be but a shadow of its former self. The Conference of the missionaries would have preferred transferring it somewhere else, in Basutoland proper ; but Rev. Rolland was of a different opinion and his wishes were respected. That was probably a mistake. In future Beersheba, like Bethulie and Carmel, could only be a second-rate station, without any possible expansion. Besides, Rev. Rolland, worn out and grown old before his time, had no longer the strength necessary to start the work afresh and to give it the vigorous impulse which alone could have restored it to its former prosperity.

Hebron was now also in the territory ceded to the Boers ; the station had therefore to be moved a few miles back, so as to be on this side of Moshesh's boundary. Unfortunately it was to be there for only a few years.

Of the other stations, Morija alone had really suffered. The manse had been burnt down to the ground, the Church had been profaned, the village devastated, and the flock scattered, for the time being at least. That picture represented the net result of twenty-five years of untiring labour and of devotion to duty through thick and thin.

Rev. Arbousset had been dealt a blow from which

he never recovered completely. Worn out by years of ceaseless and uninterrupted toil, he no longer had the strength to begin his career anew and to reconstruct his work. He realised that the time had come when he must retire and make room for a younger and stronger man. He did so and left for Europe in 1860. Before leaving he had the great joy of greeting his successor, Rev. A. Mabille, and to know that he was leaving his work in good hands. But a new trial awaited him even before he reached Europe ; the ship that carried him was wrecked on the coast of England, and that disaster cost Mrs. Arbousset her life. His departure was a great loss to the Mission. Another of its pioneers, the strongest and most courageous of a strong and courageous band, was leaving never to return. Together with Rolland and Casalis, and even more than they, he had been the true founder of the Mission. More than anyone else he had pushed it and guided it into the path that it always continued to follow. . . From the very first he had realised what had to be done, had understood what Basutoland needed and had grasped the character of its inhabitants. He had a clear, intuitive vision of what the Basutos could become under proper guidance and of the advantages that could be gained for the evangelization of the country by a judicious use of the natives' latent abilities. In that respect, as in many other ways, he has been the real predecessor of the second generation ; he had pointed out to it the way it had to follow. He gave to his station an impulse that it has never lost. What Morija has become is due above all to Rev. Arbousset. He is one of those of whom our Mission has the right to be the most proud, and his memory must be jealously kept up

amongst us. The Basutos have not forgotten him; his name is still popular in the whole country.

Rev. Arbousset's departure marks an important date in the history of our Mission. It marks the disappearance of the first generation from the scene and the end of a particular order of things. A new period, bringing with it new methods, now began. The missionaries of the first days had done their task. Rev. Casalis was the first to leave in 1855, he was followed by Rev. Schrumpf in 1857 and then by Rev. Arbousset in 1860. Of those that remained, Rev. Rolland had lost the best of his strength, Rev. Daumas (just back from Europe) and Revs. Lemue, Maitin, Keck, Cochet and Dyke were still at work, but none of them has played a prominent part. Rev. Jousse, a newcomer, like Rev. Coillard, should be counted among the missionaries of the second generation.

Rev. Pellissier, one of the very first missionaries, whose name has been so frequently mentioned in the first chapters of this book, was still at the head of his great station of Bethulie, which, it seems, had suffered from political disturbances to a smaller degree than the others. Judging from statistics, it was still flourishing. In June 1847 it had 194 communicant members; it counted 280 in 1852, 224 in 1855 and 222 in 1860. And yet that station was to suffer more than any other from the great political change that had been brought about to the north of the Orange by the events that happened between 1852 and 1858. The farms of the Boers were encircling it more and more closely. The Free State acknowledged chief Lephoi's ownership of it, thus making it easier to take possession of it later. Rev. Pellissier was witnessing the ruin, slow at first but

fast later, of his station. It is true that the Free State acknowledged our Society's ownership of a farm of 10,000 morgen whereon it was situated, and it seems as if Bethulie could have been saved; but for reasons which it is not possible to fathom to-day, Bethulie had ceased to exist as a mission station as early as 1862. On whom to pin the responsibility for that, it is now impossible to know.

The station itself had become a Boer village, the natives had been scattered; some of them had taken refuge in Basutoland, others had found work with the farmers. The Paris Mission Society only got a pecuniary compensation. Rev. Pellissier, nevertheless, continued to carry on a small mission work in Bethulie itself, on his own responsibility and independently of the Society. In 1862 there were only 44 communicants left. After Rev. Pellissier's death in 1866, Bethulie, formerly so flourishing, became no more than a distant outstation of the Mission in Basutoland.

A veil of sadness seems to hang over those last years. The horizon was dull and gloomy. There was one bright ray, however, and that was the arrival at last, in 1858, of a new missionary, Rev. Coillard. This was an encouragement for all. His presence and that of Rev. Keck, just back from Wellington, would allow the Mission to resume its policy of expansion, which had of necessity been abandoned for so many years. The creation of two new stations was decided upon. Rev. Keck was entrusted with the task of founding one at Mabolela, not far from Mekuatleng, at the chief Mopeli's, whereas Rev. Coillard was to undertake the creation of another at Leribe, the residence of Molapo (son

of Moshesh), who had been a renegade for ten years. The Mission was finding its feet again in Upper Basutoland and this time for good. The step was an important one and it looked as if better days were dawning. New recruits were due to arrive the following year in sufficient numbers. A period of progress and expansion was about to open. The new blood of young men full of life and zeal was bound to infuse once more into the Mission the energy which it was beginning to lack.

If the missionaries of the second generation have been able to give a new impulse to a work which seemed to have come to a standstill, if they have been able to direct its course towards a better destiny, they owe it to the labour, to the zeal and to the wisdom of those who preceded them in the task. It would take a better pen than ours to depict their activity, which has been so great and so blessed. For fifteen years it was exercised in times of peace and prosperity. But from 1848, wars, disasters and defections hampered it, without, however, being able to destroy it. The foundations that the pioneers had laid were sound enough to withstand all attacks. The newcomers could with safety continue the construction of the structure already begun on those solid foundations. The work of Revs. Rolland, Arbousset, Casalis and all their colleagues had not been in vain.

The spirit of the pioneers has been that of their successors. The Mission has remained a national one in the best meaning of the word. The ideals of the early years have never disappeared ; the broad and generous direction imparted from the start to the Mission in Basutoland has always been maintained, nor has the high

conception that the first missionaries had of the exigencies of Christian life been abandoned in any way. From the very first they have been uncompromising on that point and all the customs that seemed to them incompatible with Christianity have been fearlessly denounced and forbidden by them. They have persistently refused to widen the narrow path that leads to the Kingdom of Heaven. That explains both why progress has been so slow, and why, notwithstanding innumerable difficulties, obstacles and crises, their work has been so lasting. In order to become converts, the Basutos had to make real and very heavy sacrifices. There was in that a guarantee of sincerity and solidity, for one does not easily lose that which it has taken stupendous efforts to acquire.

One sometimes wonders whether, in certain quarters, the early missionaries have not been somewhat too severe, and whether they did not proscribe as being heathen, certain customs that were no more than purely natural.

However that may be, one cannot but admire them for the manner in which they held the standard of integral Christianity so high. Generally speaking, the rules which they followed were wisely thought out, as the future proved. In so firmly refusing to hold with polygamy, and in raising the standard of marriage, which is the only safe family and social basis, they have rendered the Church and the nation an outstanding service. Such measures rendered admission to the Church difficult for the great mass of the people; the missionaries knew that, but although regretting the necessity, they did not hesitate, and they never failed to follow the

road which they had chosen. They aimed at quality, not quantity, and from the very first they set their faces firmly against anything tending to accommodate or compromise that sphere of moral life which is the most important for a Church that has grown out of paganism. It is safer to push Christian intransigence too far than to leave the door open for dangerous customs. One must break definitely with heathendom and not run the risk of letting it come into the Church again as a victor, and thereby bring about the ruin or the degradation of that Church.

SECOND PERIOD

Opening up and Regular Development (1860—1884)

I

Arrival of new missionaries — restarting of the march forward (1860—1866)

Towards 1859 the Mission in Basutoland was in urgent need of reinforcements. The first generation of missionaries was at its end ; some had returned to Europe, others were getting old and felt tired and somewhat downhearted. Between 1846 and 1858 only one missionary, Rev. Jousse, had been sent to Basutoland. That was far from sufficient. The missionary body was too weak to bear the weight of so difficult a work.

Moreover, in order to carry on successfully the urgent work of reconstruction and the necessary task of uplifting the Mission, new elements were needed; that is, younger men, enthusiastic and earnest in their faith,

men able to understand the needs of their time and to guide the Mission into the way that circumstances indicated.

The situation had changed ; Basutoland was no longer what it had been in 1833. What was needed now was not so much pioneers, but mostly organisers and educationalists. The churches that had grown out of heathendom needed men who could guide and strengthen them and fit them to fulfil their task. The new situation demanded new men, and similarly new methods were needed to replace the old ones that had served their time. God held in reserve the men necessary for that work and He sent them to South Africa at the appointed time. The Mission House, reopened in 1856 under the direction of Rev. Casalis, was now able to provide them. The recitals which they had heard from the mouth of Rev. Casalis, the enthusiasm which he had instilled into them, and the love which he had inculcated into them for Basutoland and its inhabitants, were an excellent training for them.

1858 had seen the arrival in Basutoland of Rev. Coillard, the vanguard of the second generation, the future pioneer of the Zambesi Mission. In 1860 and 1861 he was followed by three young missionaries, all three of Swiss origin and natives of the Vaud Canton, viz. Revs. A. Mabille, P. Germond and D. F. Ellenberger. In 1862 yet another Swiss, Rev. L. Duvoisin, and Rev. E. Rolland, the son of the missionary of Beersheba, also joined the Mission.

Six recruits within four years, that seemed quite a large reinforcement, and yet it was hardly sufficient. The work to be done needed more labourers still. The

Mission House was in a position to sent two more, but instead of allotting them to Basutoland, which needed them, Headquarters preferred to send them to China, in order to found an entirely new work there. That regrettable experiment, which so rapidly ended in failure, proved a misfortune for Basutoland as well ; two good workers had been lost to it.

The missionaries who reached South Africa in1860 were not only destined to strengthen the ranks of the Mission and fill up the gaps brought about by the departure of the pioneer missionaries, but with them a new element was introduced into the Basutoland Mission. Revs. Mabille, Germond and their co-workers breathed a spirit and brought methods that were to renew the whole work.

Up till now practically only France had sent her children to the land of Moshesh ; the Protestants of French-speaking Switzerland were now joining them. This proved to be of great advantage to Basutoland. The blending of the French Christian, so enthusiastic, impulsive and full of life, with the French-speaking Swiss, sometimes more narrow, but often also more steady and more tenacious, was to give the Mission a very distinctive character.

The four Swiss missionaries, who were to play an important part, each in his own sphere, all belonged to the Free Churches. They thus came to Basutoland with a more individualistic conception of the Church and an inclination to demand more from its members and to appeal more to the initiative of the Christians. Their education had accustomed them to envisage Christian life from a narrower point of view, but also from a deep-

er one. The former missionaries had sometimes been tempted to confuse the Church rather too much with the nation. No danger could be feared from the newly arrived men on that score ; that danger would never again threaten the Mission.

Without desiring to single out any one missionary as more outstanding than the others (and be it here said that such an one would have been the first to resent it), yet we can safely say without any exaggeration that the personality of Rev. Mabille dominates the whole of this second period. He was the most accomplished representative of his generation. His influence over his colleagues, even the older ones, as well as over the Basutos themselves, was absolutely unique. He was, as Rev. Dieterlen so aptly puts it,(1)"the man whom Providence held in store to urge the Basutoland Mission on towards new horizons."

The missionaries who had just arrived in Basutoland were confronted with a particularly awkward task: the Mission was not progressing any more ; it needed, as each one felt, to be reorganised on a different plan ; it was imperatively necessary to uplift its material and moral ruins and to map out the future. The new missionaries were numerous enough to be able to exercise at once a considerable influence on the direction of the work as a whole ; most of the more prominent men of the first generation had disappeared and those who remained at work felt old age creeping on and had lost their elasticity.

The first task of the missionary Conference was to

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(1) Adolphe Mabille P. 56.

replace the missionaries who had just left. Rev. Mabille was appointed at Morija, where his exceptional gifts as a man of action and an organiser found such free scope. He was succeeding Rev. Arbousset whom he resembled in many respects, and thus found his ground fully prepared for him to put his missionary and ecclesiastical plans into execution. Rev. Germond was chosen to take the place vacated by Rev. Schrumpf at Bethesda, together with Mr. Gossellin.

The second task of the Mission was to spread the influence of the Gospel over the whole of Basutoland, to start the forward march afresh, to re-open the era of Christian conquest, which had been stagnant so long. As already stated, in 1859 Rev. Coillard had been placed at Leribe and Rev. Keck at Mabolela, and thus two new stations had been founded. In 1862 a third was established at Thabana-Morena, between Bethesda and Morija. Rev. Germond founded it and Rev. Ellenberger replaced him at Bethesda. The same year Mr. Maeder was placed at Siloe, which was only an out-station, but the presence of a European missionary there gave it a special importance in the eyes of the Basutos.

If we count Siloe, four new stations had been founded between 1859 and 1863 ; that brought the number of stations to thirteen, of which eleven were in Basutoland and two in the Free State. To do justice to the work, the Mission should have reopened Cana ; but the restricted number of missionaries did not allow of that being done. Possibly also, the powers that be did not understand then what they realised later, namely, the future which Upper Basutoland held in reserve and how essential it was to occupy it without delay. It would

have been wiser to have placed Rev. Duvoisin at that spot in 1864, rather than to have appointed him as second missionary at Berea, one of the smallest stations of the Mission, which was in the charge of Rev. Maitin.

The chief characteristic of the activities of the second generation of missionaries, is the effort made to evangelize the tribe through the Basutos themselves, whose co-operation it was sought to enlist more and more. In some respects that idea was not altogether a new one. The first missionaries had also thought of it. We have already seen how Rev. Arbousset had adopted that method and how in the last years of his ministry he had established evening schools in various villages of his parish, in which benevolent assistants imparted the simple, necessary instruction.

In other centres, as for instance at Beersheba, there had already been talk of founding out-stations. But that term did not mean then what we understand by it to-day. The idea was only to erect suitable buildings in some of the villages, where the missionary himself would come once or twice a month to preach the Gospel ; and the experiment of placing a Native evangelist, as a sort of a minister of a little church of his own, in any centre, had never yet been tried. As a matter of fact, no one had even thought of it, for there were no Native teachers, and everywhere the daily school was kept by the missionary or his wife. It is true that there were a few assistant teachers in some of the stations, such as Beersheba ; but they had neither the capabilities nor the knowledge to fit them to manage a school by themselves or to assume responsibility.

To carry out such a plan, to have sufficient and competent teachers or evangelists able to preach the Gospel or to be at the head of churches, it was necessary first of all to train such men, a matter which up till then had been neglected. The thought of such training had received some consideration at the time when the Mission had begun to develop, as is shown by the fact that in 1846 the Conference had decided to establish a seminary at Carmel ; but the plan had not matured. It had been taken up anew in 1855 at the instigation of Sir G. Grey, but again it had never been brought to fruition ; in fact no serious attempt was made to carry the matter through. In 1862, however, it became clear that something had to be done in earnest. The new spirit which pervaded the Mission was pressing it forward. The urgent necessity of an institution of that kind was keenly felt by the new missionaries and particularly by Rev. Mabille, who persistently brought the subject forward at each successive Conference, and was determined to start it at his own risk and peril if he could not persuade his colleagues to do so. The Committee in Paris also continually pressed the point. At last in 1864 the Conference accepted the principles as sound, and nominated Rev. Coillard as the future head of the "Central School". Doctor Duff, of Calcutta, was present at that Conference and had given the missionaries the benefit of his advice. In 1865 it was decided that that school should be established at Morija, and the necessary steps were being taken to carry out the scheme when war broke out and lasted until 1868, thus again making it necessary to defer the matter. The principle had, however, been adopted and it had been decided in

all seriousness to proceed with the work as soon as it was materially feasible.

Even if it had been possible to establish that school in 1864 or 1865, a few years would have elapsed before the scholars who might have been trained there, could have been used for the mission work. But yet the necessity of widening the limits of the Mission and of having Native co-workers made itself felt more and more. It was impossible to delay any longer. Many places required men and it was well known that these men could not be obtained from Europe in sufficient numbers. If the contemplated school could not supply the necessary workers, these would have to be found elsewhere, for it could not be thought that the handful of European missionaries in Basutoland could ever be sufficient to disseminate the Gospel among so many thousands of heathens, spread over such a vast territory, unless they had help. The only hope to reach the whole population of the country lay in the establishment of new Christian centres; short of missionaries from France, Basuto evangelists had to fill the breach. But since the school which should furnish them was not yet in existence, the missionaries had to make up their minds to train them themselves. With that object in view, they would have to pick from among the Christians of their churches those who seemed to them to be the most reliable and the fittest to assume the responsibilities of that task. Zeal for the time being would take the place of science and of theology.

The first step was taken in 1863. With the sanction of a still somewhat wavering Conference, Rev. Mabille founded the first permanent out-station at Kolo (which is

to-day a station managed by a Native minister). Esaia Leheti, an outstanding Christian, one of the first converts in Basutoland, was placed at its head. The experiment proved a success. The next year Rev. Mabille established other out-stations at Tajane, at Maabula and elsewhere. At the same time Rev. Ellenberger, driven thereto by the same needs and in obedience to he same principle, founded the out-station of Thabaneng, not far from Bethesda. His colleagues were not slow to follow that example. The movement spread to all the stations. It was marked at first by a cautious prudence ; but that soon gave way to bolder attempts. The Mission was thus now provided with one of the implements so essential to its work.

It is difficult for us to-day to fathom the reason for the hesitation and the feelings of fear which so long delayed a progressive step which was so simple, and, it seems to us, so natural. The Basutoland Mission has been the slowest of all to take that measure. Since its adoption, nothing has stopped its progress. Of all the Missions in South Africa, it is probably the one which to-day still makes the most complete and the most judicious use of the Native forces.

At first the evangelists received as salary only a few garments for themselves and their families. Later they were given a salary ranging from 150 to 200 francs, later fixed at 200 francs, and to-day at 450 francs (prewar currency). That does not, of course, enable to live ; and thus, in common with all their compatriots, these Basuto evangelists have to reckon on their fields for their food and that of their families. This prevents them

from forming a clan of their own with any pretence of a higher status than the other Basutos.

In order to ensure payment of the paltry pecuniary assitance given to those men, the Christians in Basutoland had to acquire the habit of making an annual contribution to the Church. The "Kabelo" (1), as that contribution is called, began to be given regularly in the churches in 1864 or 1865. That also was a step forward; the Christians were thus becoming accustomed to make sacrifices for the evangelization of their country. Before that date, some of the churches had made occasional collections, either in favour of the Mission Society or for the erection of their local church buildings. The missionaries and the Basutos alike agreed that it was the duty of the churches themselves to provide for the wants of the workers who had come out of their midst and had been appointed by them. Each church paid its own evangelists. The foundation of a central chest, which should be responsible for the salaries of all the evangelists and would be fed by the gifts of all the churches, had, it is true, been proposed at the outset, and it was adopted in principle, but the thought never entered the mind of anyone to apply it ; the congregational feeling was still too strong in all the parishes, each of which considered itself as a separate entity and wanted to be free to develop as it desired. The bond that united the one to the other was rather loose and they did not as yet form a united and compact body.

The need for closer unity was, however, beginning to be felt and, strangely enough, the churches

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(1) Literally, "part, offering".

appear to have experienced it earlier than the missionaries themselves. As a result of a meeting of the elders of various churches held at Morija, a deputation of Basuto Christians was sent to the Missionary Conference of 1864. It had been instructed to request that in future general meetings of elders of all the churches should be held in order to bring about more unity among them and in the mission work. In 1863 already, Rev. Ellenberger had asked that some kind of synodal organisation should be begun. The Conference, realising the necessity of such an organisation, called a meeting of the elders in Basutoland to be held at Morija in 1865, at the same time as the annual meeting of the Missionary Conference. That was the beginning of the future Synods.

The churches, represented by their elders, desired above all a more uniform organisation in the various stations and chiefly that the same ecclesiastical discipline should apply everywhere. Up till then, except for a few general principles admitted and recognised by all, each missionary exercised discipline according to his ideas and the exigencies of the moment. Whilst the churches were still small and the first zeal had not slackened, the dangers of such a want of organisation had hardly been perceptible, but now they were patent to all. And so, at its 1865 sitting, the Missionary Conference, after having carefully listened to the advice of the delegates, undertook to fix a certain number of articles in connection with church discipline. That was a progressive step ; the Mission was beginning to busy itself seriously with the organisation of the Church as a whole. Unfortunately, in the rules drafted on that occasion,

there already appeared the first symptoms of the legalism which was later to cause the failure of the first Synods. The missionaries, encouraged by their elders, did not perceive the dangers on the road which they were about to follow. Besides, they were being urged towards the side to which they themselves inclined. The unfortunate results of that tendency were only felt in the long run.

The literary activities of the Mission also began afresh at that time. In that sphere, as in the others, the first missionary generation had laid solid foundations; it had done all that could be expected of it. The translation of the New Testament had been done entirely and it had been printed by the Mission's press at Beersheba in 1855. A Hymn Book, which had already seen four editions, contained a hundred hymns and sufficed for the wants of those days. In addition, the Mission printing press had produced two Catechisms, some A. B.C. books, some reading cards, some religious tracts, etc. It was not very much yet, no doubt, but the Basutos did not require any more than that; that light luggage was sufficient for them. Very few of them were as yet able to read fluently and with intelligence.

In the latter years, the Mission writings and printing had more or less been at a standstill and most of the time, the printing press at Beersheba was closed. It had had bad luck with the printers; Mr. Ludorf had left in 1848 in order to become a Wesleyan missionary, and in 1855 Mr. Schuh had also given it up. In any case, even if he had remained, there would have been very little for him to do. But yet, if one wanted the education of the Basutos to advance, it was necessary to be

able to furnish them with a somewhat larger supply of literature. They already had the New Testament. The Book of Psalms had been printed in 1855, thanks to Rev. Arbousset, at the printing works of the Wesleyan Mission at Platberg. A few other translations were being undertaken, but the Conference did not seem to worry about checking them or getting them ready for the printer.

Here again, the initiative of Rev. Mabille came to the fore. From the very first he expressed his astonishment that the whole Bible had not been translated yet, and he pressed the point. Progress being too slow to his liking, he, who had only just arrived in Basutoland and did not yet know the Sesuto language, resolved to do the task himself. He persuaded his uncle, Rev. Dyke, to translate Joshua and Ruth with him. His enthusiasm won the sympathy of the older missionaries and soon certain translations, some already finished and some in the making, were taken from their hiding places. Everyone was now imbued with a new zeal and the minutes of the Conference show how progress was made in the matter from 1860 to 1865. The work was completed only ten years later, however, owing to the 1865-1868 war. But the impetus had been given and the work was not going to stop. Rev. Rolland, to whom a portion of the translation of the New Testament was due, and Rev. Mabille, were entrusted with the completion of the work in which Revs. Ellenberger, Maitin, Cochet, Duvoisin and E. Rolland also took an active part.

At the same time Rev. Mabille was busy translating Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, one of the best books that could have been circulated among the Basuto Christ-

ians, and in 1861 Rev. Jousse had written in Sesuto a popular Holy Scripture book of the Old Testament, taken from some English work, which he entitled the "Lipolelo"(sayings, stories) and which went into many editions.

In 1862 the Printing Works of the Mission were placed under the care of Rev. Ellenberger. They had been damaged in 1858 when the Boers had ransacked Beersheba. The types had been mixed and it gave the new manager an enormous amount of trouble to put everything in order. He started operations with that modest printing press at Bethesda, where a few short works were printed. Since 1861, Rev. Mabille had also a printing press at Morija. It was very primitive and small, but he did very well with it. Although himself a self-made printer, he succeeded in training apprentices, who managed somehow to do what was necessary. After having published various small pamphlets written by himself, he began, in 1863, the publication of a Mission periodical called the "Leselinyana la Lesotho" (The small light of Basutoland). That publication still exists to-day,but as a weekly newspaper of considerably larger proportions. It is the oldest Native newspaper in South Africa. It has contributed tremendously to the development both of the Mission and of the tribe. Later, when wars were at an end,and the scholastic and ecclesiastical work was able at last to develop normally, the printing press at Morija was in a position to produce all the necessary books. The Book Depôt established at Morija in 1862, was also destined, under the management of Rev. Mabille, to become of the utmost help to the Mission and exert its influence far beyond the limits of Basutoland.

The impetus which the new forces lately acquired had given to the Basutoland Mission, enabled it to begin its forward course once more. The period of comparative inactivity which it had traversed had ended at last. The missionaries had taken courage once more and an era of conquests opened up again in front of them.

They were, however, very few indeed for the task which they had to do. Doctor E. Casalis, son of the director of the Mission House, had joined them in 1864. But that was not enough, for many doors were opening and many new stations should have been started. From all sides people were clamouring for missionaries, but it was not possible to accede to those pressing requests. The missionaries fully realised that these long delays in satisfying the wants of the people were compromising the future, and in consequence every year at their Conference they asked for new missionaries, but in vain; the Mission House in Paris was unable to furnish them. Eventually, in 1864, they decided to make a direct appeal to the theological students and to the ministers of France and of Switzerland. They required six or seven more missionaries and they believed that they would find them. But their appeal remained unanswered. The hour had not yet come when enthusiasm for mission work would seize Christian youth.

Although the political situation was again serious, yet since 1864 all faced the future without fear; they knew that it was in God's hands. The Conference which met at Morija at the beginning of 1865 in the midst of rumours of war, had decided, as said above, to open the Central School that same year. The secretary of the Conference

wrote as follows concerning the early establishment of the Central School : "You see that we are determined to go forward, and while our Churches can still supply us with a few catechists, who, if not educated, yet may have a little experience, we cannot help thinking of the future ; and more than ever we desire to prepare for this tribe *as well as for others* a Native ministry which could suffice, if need be, to continue the work which we have begun."

As the reader can see, the missionaries were already thinking of a Native pastorate. It was perhaps rather in advance of the times, as it was only twenty-five years later that this plan materialised. Mention should also be made here of the idea which was then spoken of for the first time and was also due to Rev. Mabille, of training evangelists and ministers not only for the Basutos, but also for the tribes in the interior of Africa.

That was the first step on the path which culminated in the foundation in the Transvaal of the Swiss Mission of South Africa in 1875 and of that of the Zambesi in 1884.

Nor was it mere theory. The first step had already been taken towards the realisation of that great ideal ; in 1864, at the request of Mankopane, a chief of the Northern Transvaal, the missionaries had sent him a Native evangelist named Esaia Seele, from Berea, with the object of beginning a work there which would be like a branch of that carried on in Basutoland. The 1865—1868 war and other causes did not allow of that experiment being carried any further ; but the tremendous headway made since 1860 was surprising. Not only were new enter-

prises begun in Basutoland, but the idea of establishing a foreign mission was being seriously considered. However much we may admire such marvellous faith and confidence, we may be permitted to wonder whether there was not an element of imprudence in launching out into the unknown before Basutoland had been entirely won over to the Gospel.

Statistics also show that mission work was decidedly on the ascendant again. In 1864 there were 1,676 communicants and 535 catechumens, that is 600 Christians more than in 1857. As a matter of fact, the increase was even greater, for one must bear in mind that Bethulie did not exist any longer and that most of its Christians were spread about the Free State. Among the stations which were developing the most normally should be mentioned Morija, Mekuatleng and Thaba-Bosigo. Beersheba was also picking up, but it was not its former self. It having been found that the limits assigned to it by the treaty of 1858 were too narrow, the station had perforce been transferred elsewhere, namely to Poortjie, on the left bank of the Caledon river. It was at that spot, in Basutoland, that the new Beersheba was beginning to lift its head. Rev. E. Rolland was now helping his father there. In 1864 there were already 412 communicants, and everything pointed to the new station growing and developing rapidly. But all such hopes were soon to be dashed to the ground; the war of 1865 was to bring about its final ruin.

In 1862 a new element made its entry into Basutoland; two French Catholic missionaries, viz. Bishop Allard and Father Gérard had come to ask Moshesh to grant them authority to establish a rival work in his

country. Christianity would henceforth appear to the Basutos to be divided against itself. It was a source of difficulties and an embarrassing situation for our work. Moshesh placed them about nine miles away from Thaba-Bosigo in an out of the way valley, where they soon established the station of Roma. Of late years, and especially since the departure of Revs. Casalis andArbousset, the old chief had drawn away from the Mission to a large extent ; he was not altogether sorry, perhaps, to foster inimical feelings against it and to show it that, if occasion arose, he could manage without it. He did not want, of course, to see it disappear altogether, for he knew full well the services which it had and still rendered him, but it did not displease him to see its influence checked. Besides, it was his policy never to turn away those who came to him, and further still, in his eyes two guarantees were better than one ; the Roman Catholic priests might render him services which it would have been difficult for him to expect from his old missionaries.

During the first years following its arrival, the Catholic Mission progressed but slowly in Basutoland; for a long time it remained an almost unknown quantity. But it had introduced into the country an element which was bound in the long run to do harm to our influence and to the progress of true Christianity.

II

Four years of storms and of ruins (1865—1868)

The missionaries required a very strong faith and considerable Christian optimism to thus establish their work on new foundations and to extend it to such a point. The future had become singularly black. It can be said in all truth that if ever any of God's servants walked by faith and had full confidence in the promises of the Gospel, it was those who so valiantly set to work from 1860 to 1865. The political atmosphere was charged with electricity ; the storm could burst at any moment and the events of 1858 reminded them that, even if Moshesh were to be victorious in a new war, the Mission would have to stand painful blows.

It was recognised on all sides that the peace of Aliwal North was merely a truce. The question left unsettled in 1858 was bound to be re-opened soon. Would Basutoland be in a position to withstand an attack of the Free State Boers again ? The relations between the Basutos and their neighbours had become as strained as before 1858. Cattle thefts had begun afresh on a large scale and Moshesh had neither the power nor any sincere desire to prevent them. His people still refused to agree to being deprived of a large slice of their territory. The chief himself, grown old, discouraged and keenly feeling in

his heart the injustices of which he had been the victim, had no longer the strength to enforce on his sons and on his brothers the wise and prudent policy which he, personally, would no doubt have preferred. The Basutos were grumbling and desired war. The Boers desired it as much, and it would undoubtedly have broken out earlier, had it not been that the Free State had been paralysed for a time by internal troubles and by quarrels with the Transvaal. In 1864, however, order had been restored and an advocate from the Cape, Mr. J. Brand, had been elected president.

He took office determined to adopt a firmer and more settled policy and to have peace on his borders, even if he thereby ran the risk of a war with Moshesh. One of his first measures was to request Moshesh to recall into Basutoland those of his subjects established on the other side of the boundary fixed by the 1858 treaty, that is, in the territory situated to the north of the Caledon River in the district of Winburg. Moshesh refused to agree to the request. The parties decided to submit the matter to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse, the new Governor of the Cape, who in 1864 agreed to arbitrate. His duties were not to fix a new boundary, but to determine which boundary was meant by the treaty of 1858. He had, however, reserved the right to make such alterations in it as would appear to be just and necessary.

The result of the arbitration was entirely in favour of the Boers. With the exception of a territory of no importance, which he gave back to Moshesh, he granted all the demands of the Free State. Sir Philip Wodehouse could not have acted differently. Not only had the boun-

daries which he was required to determine been fixed in 1848 by the British Government of the Sovereignty, with the consent either of Sekonyela, who was then independent of Moshesh, or of Moroke, who pretended to be independent of him, but Moshesh himself had expressly recognised and accepted them by the treaty of 1858. It may be that he did not realise its significance at the time, but he had signed the treaty, and that placed him now in a difficult position to dispute the rights of the Free State.

The Governor's decision came as a thunderbolt to the Basutos. But little versed in matters of diplomacy, and not understanding that once a treaty has been signed it has force of law, they had not expected to see the rights of the Free State upheld. Moshesh had no alternative but to submit to the finding in an arbitration which he himself had sought ; but his people thought differently and were not disposed to accept it. War could no doubt have been averted, or at any rate retarded, if the Free State had not insisted upon the immediate departure of the Basutos who were established on its side of the frontier, and refused to allow them to reap the maize and other crops which they had sown. Early in 1865 a Boer commando expelled them brutally from their homes, before they could even begin reaping their crops, and they were thus reduced to a state of famine.

War was thus inevitable. Even if he had wanted to, Moshesh could not now hope to keep his people back ; they were exasperated and thought themselves strong enough to fight against the White people. The old chief also seems to have lost the right view of things at that

time. He no longer had the advice of his old missionaries Casalis and Arbousset; their successors had but little influence on him, and he allowed himself to be led either by his sons or by White adventurers, who only looked to their own interests. And thus, without considering the consequences, he embarked on a war which was to cost him half his country and which nearly brought about his ruin. During his long career this is the only serious case in which he failed to act with calmness amid circumstances of danger and to fathom the exigencies of the position. He did not realise to what extent the Free State had grown in strength since 1858 and how much more dangerous a war so imprudently waged would now be for the Basutos.

An incursion made by Ramaneella, one of the important chiefs of Basutoland, into the territory of the Boers, was the direct cause of the beginning of hostilities. The Free State declared war against Moshesh, and in June 1865 the Boer commandos invaded Basutoland. This time the Basutos failed to put up a fight. They gave way from the very first day. As if they had not enough to cope with, they became so to say, seized with incomprehensible dizziness and managed to get the British Government also against them. The same Ramaneella made an armed incursion into the Colony of Natal and seized a large quantity of cattle. That incident very nearly caused war with England, and complicated matters to a very large extent: it prevented the intervention of Sir Philip Wodehouse in favour of the Basutos.

We have neither the time nor the desire to enter into the details of this doleful struggle. Defeated in

every fight, the Basutos could no longer resist. In August the Boer commandos arrived in front of Tha-ba-Bosigo. Twice the Boers attempted to rush the mountain where Moshesh had entrenched himself. It was defended by only a few hundred warriors. Well hidden behind their ramparts, the Basutos beat the Boers back, but not without difficulty. On the occasion of the second assault, the stronghold of Moshesh was nearly captured. Only the death of the valiant L. Wepener, who was in command of the attacking forces, saved the Basutos. Discouraged by that check, the Boers now contented themselves with besieging the mountain. Their batteries, fixed on the adjoining hills, kept up a continuous bombardment. The siege lasted several months and the Basutos endured cruel sufferings. A large number of cattle had been placed on the mountain. The greater part of them perished of hunger and of thirst or took a plunge down the steep rocks. The air was poisoned by the stench of all those carcases. Typhoid fever and famine decimated the Natives. Of all the sons of Moshesh, Masopha alone was with this father. The others kept the campaign going, but without much success. They managed to pillage some isolated farms here and there and to worry the enemy.

Meanwhile the Boers were ravaging the country. Most of the villages were abandoned or burnt down, and the enemy destroyed what the inhabitants had not been able to carry away in their flight. The greater portion of the people, who had taken refuge in the mountains, were beginning to feel the effects of famine. Fortunately it was a rainy year and the harvest was promis-

ing. But would it be possible to reap it? The Free State authorities, determined to break Moshesh's resistance at all costs, had just issued orders to the commandos to destroy the maize and millet crops which were then beginning to ripen. A general famine and the final ruin of the tribe were in sight.

Despair had seized the Basutos; their many reverses had prostrated them. The war which they had so lightly undertaken had brought them cruel disappointments. Several of the principal chiefs had already abandoned their country and deserted the national cause. Molapo, the second son of Moshesh, a traitor to his father and to his country, had now made a separate peace with the enemy, which assured him the peaceful possession, under Boer suzerainty, of a considerable portion of the country, one of the best districts of Basutoland. Mopeli, a brother of Moshesh, had followed suit. That double defection gave a rude blow to the power of the great chief, for whom it was becoming increasingly difficult to take the offensive. But yet another blow followed; the French missionaries, who had always been a moral support for him and like a rallying centre for his people, had just been expelled by a decree of the Free State Volksraad (1). That decree applied to all those among the missionaries who resided in the districts already annexed by the Boers, that is to say, to all of them except those of Berea and Thaba-Bosigo.

Vanquished and exhausted, Moshesh was compelled, in order to save his people from the ravages of famine, to accept the terms of the conquerors. These were even

(1) The "Volksraad" (the people's council) is the name of the House of Assembly of the Free State.

harder than had been anticipated. He had to make over to the Free State more than three quarters of his country, so that in future, outside of the Malutis, which were considered to be uninhabitable, Basutoland would consist of a narrow strip of land contained between Thaba Telle (a few miles from Morija), the Caledon and the Phuthiatsana river. Moshesh would have to gather and accommodate the whole of his tribe within these narrow limits ; little did it matter to the Free State whether such a restricted territory could or could not feed such a population. The Mission was also affected in its vital work. The stations of Poortjie (new Beersheba), Hebron, Bethesda, Morija, Hermon, Mekuatleng and Mabolela were all situated in the territory ceded to the conquerors. The Boers were fully determined to balk the Mission. Only two stations now remained, namely Berea and Thaba-Bosigo. Our mission work was well nigh completely ruined ; only a few fragments were left over. It was likewise the end of the tribe itself ; Basutoland was now struck off the map of South Africa (1).

The peace treaty, which sounded the death knell of our Mission and of the tribe, was solemnly read to the "burghers" of the Free State on the 4th April 1866 at the foot of Moshesh's mountain, a few paces from the station, ruined and pillaged, where the Gospel had so long and so faithfully been preached. Its reading was acclaimed with enthusiasm, and standing on his wagon with the Bible in his hand and his head bared, President

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(1) Although a small portion of it still existed, Basutoland was then bound to become a vassal of the Free State and could not have had a really independent existence.

Brand rendered thanks to God for the happy issue of the war. The Boers believed in all good faith that they had fought for the God of Israel. Drawing their spiritual food chiefly from the Old Testament, they sincerely looked themselves as "the" people of the Almighty. Was not the heathens' country their legitimate heritage ?

It was, however, solely for the purpose of saving the crops and gaining time that Moshesh and his counsellors had consented to sign such a disastrous treaty. Even the blindest could have realised that such a peace could never be of a lasting nature. The Basutos were beaten, it is true, but yet not sufficiently to accept with any sincerity the definite loss of the greater part of their country, all the more so as they perceived that this was but the precursor of the loss of their independence. The Free State did not occupy the country which it had annexed ; it was impossible for it to take real possession of it. Nor had the Basutos abandoned it ; they still inhabited it. That was part of the plan of Moshesh, who was fully determined to win it back when he had gathered his crops and regained his strength. That explains the phrase "the millet peace", used in Basutoland about that treaty. One may speak of the duplicity of Moshesh on this occasion, and some historians have denounced it with eloquence. But even in civilised and Christian countries, there are many instances of treaties just as little sincere. Besides, what could Moshesh do in the circumstances under which he was placed ? The knife was at his throat and in order to prevent total destruction, he had to submit to any conditions impos-

ed upon him by the victors. He had only done so with the hope of an early revenge in mind.

From May 1866 to October 1867 Basutoland enjoyed a limping and insecure peace. The Free State was bent on benefiting by its victory to the fullest extent. It made a survey of the territory annexed by it and cut it up into farms. In terms of the treaty, the Basutos had to evacuate the territory without delay. But in reality they occupied it almost in its entirety, and whether the Free Staters liked it or not, they not only reaped their crops, but they actually sowed a fresh lot of maize and of millet for a new crop and quite evidently considered themselves the real owners of the ground. A few farmers tried to establish themselves on the farms they had bought. None, or practically none, was able to remain. The Anglican Bishop of Bloemfontein took advantage of the position to endeavour to start a rival mission in Basutoland. For that purpose he bought a farm in the conquered territory, and he advised Moshesh to that effect. The latter, however, declared that he would not allow him to occupy it. This was an explicit refusal to recognise the validity of the 1866 treaty and an avowal that the territory still belonged to him. The Boers, on their side, were beginning to realise that the peace made rested on poor foundations, and that the real conquest of the annexed territory still had to take place.

Meanwhile, what was becoming of the Mission and of its missionaries ? The war had of course disorganised the work from top to bottom. During the hostilities of 1865 to 1866, the missionaries had remained alone on their stations, up against all sorts of difficulties and ex-

posed to constant dangers. The Free State authorities had given formal orders to its commandos to respect the missionaries and their properties, and but for a few exceptional cases, the missionaries had no cause to complain of the conduct of the Boers towards them. But the huts of the Natives had been devastated, the villages of the stations had been destroyed, the schools closed and religious services were held only in the few places that had been spared by the enemy. The whole Mission work was so to say at a standstill.

But yet another blow was to befall it. Even before peace had been concluded and the conquered districts had been regularly annexed, the Volksraad had decided upon the expulsion of the French missionaries. That was in March 1866. President Brand had opposed that brutal step, but in vain. His opposition to it rebounds to his honour and helps to make the resolution taken all the more odious. The missionaries were accused of sympathising with the people to whom they brought the Gospel, and were looked upon as public enemies. There was a touch of truth in those accusations, but all to the honour of those who were their object. Although they took no part in the war, remained entirely neutral and were faithful to their mandate as servants of the God of peace, they did not hide — how could they ? — their sympathy and their love for the Basutos. As members by adoption of the tribe of Moshesh, it was impossible for them not to suffer with it at the sight of the misfortunes that were weighing it down. But in the eyes of the Boers that was an unpardonable crime. Besides, the missionaries were awkward witnesses, whom it would be better to get rid of ; and, above all, their presence was

a moral support for the whole tribe. Their violent and undeserved expulsion was, however, destined to do considerable harm to the cause of the Boers. Up to that time, public opinion in South Africa had been very favourable to the Free State, but now it began to turn against it, for that State was no longer the enemy of the Blacks only — it had become that of the Christian Mission also.

Only a few days were given to the expelled missionaries to make preparations for their departure and their journey. At the end of March 1866, Revs. S. and E. Rolland (of Poortjie), Cochet (of Hebron), Dyke and Casalis (of Hermon), Germond (of Thabana-Morena) and Mr. Maeder (of Siloe) had been escorted to Aliwal North, where they spent over two years in exile. They were joined a few days later by Rev. Mabille, who had wanted to follow his people into the Maluti Mountains, but whom Letsie had not allowed to do so. Rev. Daumas (of Mekuatleng) was interned in Winburg, from where he later went to Natal. He had been preceded by Rev. Coillard, who had been compelled to leave Leribe, at which place the Free State had decided to put a Dutch minister. Although Molapo had made a separate peace with the Boers, and he and his people had remained in possession of their country, the Free State refused to tolerate the presence of a French missionary there. That ostracism, which thus affected all the missionaries of our Society, is to their honour and the very people who were expelling them could not but help instinctively showing them respect. Rev. Keck, who, for reasons of health, had been allowed to remain at Mabolela temporarily, managed to stay there till the end of the war.

At Bethesda, Mr Gosselin and Rev. Ellenberger were unduly worried. Their cattle were taken away and never returned to them, and the Native village was burnt. Of the two stations that were established in the territory reserved for Moshesh, only one, viz. Berea, was occupied. Revs. Maitin and Duvoisin were there. The other, that of Thaba-Bosigo, pillaged and almost entirely destroyed by the Boers, was without a missionary; Rev. Jousse had been in Europe since 1863 and Dr. Lautré had not been able to remain there alone. With the addition of the small station of Carmel, which, situated outside of Basutoland, had not been worried, that is all that remained of the French Mission. It was as if a cyclone had passed over it and had left nothing but ruins.

The Basutoland missionaries,the Committee of the Mission in Paris and the Christians of Europe all protested against a decision which forbade the missionaries to re-start their work and to return to their stations; the Boers refused to listen to them. The Free State had firmly decided never to allow the French Mission to take root again in the annexed territory. It is true that the Volksraad agreed that our Society should retain the ownership of the buildings put up by it, and granted it a farm of 1,500 morgen at each station, except that of Hebron. But that compensation was well-nigh ridiculous, and in order to obtain the title deeds of those farms the Society was expected to pay 2,500 francs per station. In addition, it was distinctly stipulated that no mission work of any sort should be carried on any more on any of the stations. The missionaries had either to settle on them as farmers or sell them. They could not accept such terms without degrading themselves in the eyes of

the Europeans as well as of those of the Natives. Such acceptance would have been tantamount to acknowledging as just the spoliation of which they were the victims, and it would have given theBasutos the impression that they agreed with their enemies. Their refusal, which is quite easy to understand and which every honourable man must approve of, caused them still more enmity and strengthened the Boers in their contention that the decision to expel the missionaries was justified. At one time the missionaries had hoped that a better feeling would eventually prevail in the Free State Councils, and that their work could be re-started although under less favourable circumstances than formerly. But as weeks and months went by, they realised more and more that, humanly speaking, the Mission was definitely under a ban. Even the sad consolation of gathering the dispersed fragments of their Churches under the aegis of the Free State was denied them. Notwithstanding the real risk which he was running in so doing, Rev. Mabille tried to return to Morija towards the end of 1866. He succeeded in getting back, and found a portion of his old congregation ; but he soon saw that the position was untenable, and after a few weeks spent in counselling and consoling his parishioners, he was compelled to proceed to Thaba-Bosigo, where he took up his abode in the ruins of Rev. Lautré's house and remained till the return of Rev. Jousse in 1867.

Other missionaries were endeavouring to find a place of refuge where it would be possible for their flocks to come together ; thus Rev. Germond crossed the Drakensberg to explore "No Man's Land" (1) (to-day

(1) Literally : The country which belongs to nobody.

called Griqualand East), where a few Basuto chiefs had just established themselves. That movement was the origin of the stations of Matatiele and Paballong. Rev. Ellenberger, feeling how precarious his position was at Bethesda, crossed the Orange River in 1866 and founded the Masitise station. He first lived there in a natural cave which he turned into a fairly large, though not too comfortable, dwelling-place. He and his people were at any rate free from the incursions of the Boers. That portion still formed part of Basutoland, since the district belonged to Moorosi, a vassal of Moshesh. A new station, destined to have a fine future, had thus been established and a vast territory, up till then completely heathen, had been opened up for the preaching of the Gospel.

But yet the future remained exceedingly dark. The Basutoland Church no longer existed and the most that can be said is that a few fragments of it remained, scattered here and there and without any cohesion. The missionaries, in exile at Aliwal North or in Natal, bore their lot in silence and dared no longer hope. They required a rare courage and an indomitable faith not to succumb to the weight of discouragement. It is one of the instances regarding which one can well speak of "the faith and the patience of the saints", all the more so as they had no illusions about the position, and they could not foresee the sudden change which, in the near future, was to re-open the way to their stations and allow the tribe and the Mission to begin a new period of peaceful expansion and development. In a letter written from Aliwal North on the 7th September 1866, they wrote : "In spite of what we are doing and of all the

efforts made on our behalf, we no longer reckon on our stations being given back to us, at any rate, as centres of evangelization, unless one of those unexpected and sudden changes, of which Providence alone holds the secret, should take place in the affairs of this country."

Faith alone could hope for that change, which, although they had no human reason to expect it, several of the missionaries believed would come about. It seemed impossible to them that God would abandon His Church to ruin and destruction. At that same time Rev. Duvoisin wrote from Berea as follows : "Can you believe that I have never had more confidence in the work of God in Basutoland than at present ? It seems to me that God wants to grant another moment of grace to that poor nation."

And yet the horizon, already black enough, was becoming darker still. The war, which had been expected for months, began afresh and in all earnestness in October 1867. The Boers had decided to expel the Basutos from the conquered territory. Moshesh took the part of those whom he had never ceased to consider as his subjects, and formally repudiated the treaty of 1866. The odds were even more against him than on the former occasion. The Basutos were offering but feeble resistance. The fortresses in the country fell, the one after the other, before the might of the enemy. Posholi, the brother of Moshesh, had been killed ; even the most stouthearted were becoming discouraged. Moshesh appeared to be on the eve of losing the little that remained to him. The capture of the fortress of Qeme, a few miles distant from Thaba-Bosigo, in February 1868, presaged the final ruin of the country. Panic had reached a climax ;

one more effort on the part of the enemy and Thaba-Bosigo would fall into his hands.

But important events were shaping in the dark. Moshesh had long clamoured for a British Protectorate, but England had not been prepared to grant it on the conditions desired by the old chief. War had supervened and had put a stop to the negotiations on the subject. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse, ardently desired, however, to respond to the advances of Moshesh. Therein he was guided either by political reasons, or by the persuasion that England should assert her power in South Africa and not allow the Boer Republics to bar the way to the interior any longer, or by a sincere desire to save a people which he had learned to love, and a Mission which he admired and respected. He begged the English Ministry to grant him authority to take Basutoland under his protection. But England, tired of the ever-recurring difficulties which her policy in South Africa continually met with, had no particular desire to add to her responsibilities and did not hold with the request of the Governor.

A change in the ministry for the Colonies somewhat modified the position. The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos showed less opposition to the overtures of Moshesh than his predecessor had done and the time was more favourable.

The expulsion of the French missionaries and the troubles of the tribe had drawn attention to Basutoland and had provoked a certain movement in its favour in the philanthropic and Christian circles of Great Britain.

The representations of the French Government, which was anxious to safeguard the interests of its citizens, no

doubt had some influence in the matter. On receipt of a despatch from the English Ministry, which, although stipulating grave reservations and evidently lacking in enthusiasm, at any rate gave him some authority to act, Sir Ph. Wodehouse hastened to take the decisive step. There was not a moment to be lost if he desired to intervene. On the 13th of January 1868, while the war was in full swing, he advised Moshesh and the President of the Free State that England intended to proclaim her protectorate over Basutoland and he counselled the suspension of hostilities. Salvation, however, was not yet; the danger remained as great as ever. The Free State, sustained by what it looked upon as its rights, refused to take any notice of the representations of Sir Ph. Wodehouse. It continued the war with renewed vigour, determined to put an end to Moshesh before England could intervene. The old chief was pressing the Governor to act without further delay. But Sir Ph. Wodehouse was not yet ready. Serious political reasons did not for the present allow him to act with full authority and compelled him to wait before he could formally annex Basutoland. The Free State knew this and endeavoured by all the means in its power to force the submission of Moshesh. Those were difficult times to live through; Rev. Jousse and Rev. Mabille, who happened to be together at Thaba-Bosigo and were encouraging the old chief not to give in, thought on more than one occasion that the game was up altogether. Eventually, on the 12th of March 1868, the proclamation was issued at Cape Town whereby Basutoland was placed under the protection of England.

A few days later, a detachment of Carbineers from

the Cape, under the command of Sir W. Currie, arrived at Korokoro, a few miles from Thaba-Bosigo. It was in the nick of time, for Moshesh, driven to despair by the long delay, and hard pressed by the Boers, was on the point of signing a treaty which would have put him entirely at the mercy of his enemies and would have made the intervention of England useless. Basutoland was saved. The providential change, for which the missionaries had hoped against hope, had taken place, and the Mission, so long and so cruelly troubled, could now rise again from its ruins.

At the great National Assembly at Thaba-Bosigo on the 15th of April 1868 Sir Ph. Wodehouse solemnly proclaimed the British Protectorate. That date is one of the most important in the history of the tribe and of the Mission. For both of them it meant salvation. Of course, the complete independence of the Basutos was a thing of the past; but they were saved and their future was assured. Without Sir Ph. Wodehouse, without the patience and the tenacity with which he planned his intervention and brought about its acceptance by the Government, neither Basutoland nor the Mission would have survived. He is entitled to our deepest gratitude and also to that of the tribe.

III

After the storm (1868—1871)

The proclamation of the 12th of March 1868 had deprived the Boers of Basutoland ; the tribe was on the eve of a revival and the Mission was about to lift its head again. But like all great crises, the one which had swept over the country from 1865 to 1868 was not destined to come to an end so quickly. The position, which a few days before had been so desperate, could not change in an instant, as if by magic.

Difficult questions had to be settled. In the joy of deliverance they had not been thought of ; but now they required serious and urgent consideration.

Basutoland had been proclaimed a British Protectorate, but to which Basutoland did this refer? Over which territory was the British flag to fly ? The Basutos and the Boers had diametrically opposite views on that point. The boundaries intended by Sir Ph. Wodehouse were those determined by the treaty of Aliwal in 1858, for had he not himself recognised them officially in 1864 by his arbitration ? The country which he had just annexed was the Basutoland that existed before the 1865 war. The Basutos, chief among them Moshesh, could not and would not understand that it was impossible for the British Government not to take into account the victory

of the Free State and that it could not strike out the events of the preceding three years with one stroke of the pen. They refused to accept, even in part, the consequences of their own errors.

The Free State, on the other hand, exasperated at seeing the prey which it had seized escape from its grip at the last moment, claimed the whole of the annexed country as belonging to it by right ; and indeed the peace treaty of 1866 acknowledged its possession of it. In its eyes, the Basutoland annexed by England was merely the narrow strip of territory left to Moshesh in 1866. The Boers could not realise that the renewed hostilities of 1867 had annulled that treaty and that they could not seriously contend that its terms could now be rigourously applied, all the more so as the greater part of the annexed territory was still in the hands of the Basutos and had never really been conquered.

It was awkward to reconcile those opposite claims, and to grapple with such a complicated situation was a difficult task for Sir Ph. Wodehouse.

Personally, he was inclined to favour the standpoint of the Basutos as much as he could ; it was in his interests that as much as possible of their territory should revert to them. His very honour dictated it as a duty. But, on the other hand, he fully realised that he could not expect from the Free State a complete renunciation of all the fruits of a victory which had been gained at such a high price. He could no doubt have imposed his will on them if he had desired to make full use of his power. But the British Government was not disposed to allow him to do so and desired above all to prevent a rupture with the Free State. Sir Ph. Wode-

house had exceeded his powers to a certain extent ; he had annexed Basutoland without the express authority of the Cabinet in London. That placed him in an awkward position and made his situation most delicate. In addition, public opinion in the Cape Colony was hostile to him and openly disapproved of his policy. It was thus necessary for him to temporise and to endeavour to obtain by diplomacy the most advantageous conditions for his protégés.

The situation was exceedingly difficult. The Free State refused to withdraw its commandos from the territory which it maintained belonged to it. For several months guerilla warfare continued between the Boers and the Basutos under the very eyes of the English police. That state of affairs could become dangerous for both parties if it continued. The prestige of England suffered through it, and the Free State ran the risk of some day finding itself in direct conflict with the great British power. Common sense eventually prevailed. At Bloemfontein the Boers signified their readiness to compromise, and from the month of July the Caledon River was tacitly recognised as the provisional boundary between the two States. The Boers, however, did not scruple to stretch it further on occasions.

That provisional boundary eventually became final. Sir Ph. Wodehouse would have liked to have saved at least our two stations of Mekuatleng and Mabolela and the district which surrounded them. Had he had greater support from England, he would probably have succeeded ; but the Metropolitan Government refused to make any pecuniary sacrifices, which alone would have

prevailed against the obstinacy of the Boers. At one time it even seemed as if no agreement would be reached and as if England would withdraw from Basutoland. But at last in February 1869, thanks to the patience and the firmness of the Governor, the peace treaty was signed at Aliwal North. The boundaries of Basutoland were now definitely fixed and the British Protectorate recognised by the Free State.

Like all those that had preceded it, this new treaty imposed very heavy sacrifices on the Basutos. It is true that it gave back to them a large portion of the territory annexed by the Free State in 1866 ; but they were losing, and this time definitely, the whole country to the west of the Caledon. On the south-west, between the Caledon and the Orange Rivers, the famous Warden line again became the boundary between the two States. Basutoland was now reduced to nearly half of its former size.

So far as the Mission is concerned, it had been cruelly mutilated. Four stations, Mekuatleng, Mabolela, Hebron and Poortjie were in the territory ceded to the Boers. The treaty of Aliwal, however, recognised the rights of the Society to the two stations of Mekuatleng and Mabolela and mission work could even be continued there under certain conditions. But it was really almost an illusory right. The ground granted to those stations was too small and a sufficiently large population could not be placed on it. Besides, serious reasons made the Conference doubt the advisability of having mission stations in the Free State. The experiences of the past showed the difficulties with which they should have to contend.

In spite of the heavy sacrifices which it entailed for the Mission as well as for the tribe, the 1869 treaty of Aliwal was a great benefit ; it put an end to the incessant state of war which had lasted for twenty years. Basutoland was now to enjoy the blessings of peace and to possess a stable government. But it was an enfeebled, cramped and diminished Basutoland. The Mission could also now revive and rise again, but the amputations which it had suffered were none the less painful. The Mission had to resign itself to them without murmuring ; it was smaller and impoverished, but at any rate it had been saved. And in comparing the present situation with that prevailing two years before, the missionaries could not but thank God for the deliverance which had been obtained, notwithstanding very natural regrets. Sir Ph. Wodehouse had done all he could to obtain better conditions for Basutoland ; it was not his fault if he did not succeed. In April 1869, the reporter of the Conference stated as follows : "That convention seemed to us to be a decree without appeal ; it has appeared and it still appears to us that the line of conduct which we must follow under the actual circumstances is to accept it, to conform ourselves to it and to endeavour to persuade the Natives to submit to it."
And notwithstanding their regrets and their sorrow, they very loyally promised to the Governor that they would do all in their power to facilitate his task and to bring peace back in the country. So much wisdom and resignation, however, could not be expected from every one. Notwithstanding the sincere gratitude which they owed to the one who had saved them, the Basutos could not become reconciled to the definite loss of

such a large portion of their country. Sir Ph. Wodehouse had made the final result of the negotiations known to them at a national assembly which had met on the 22nd of April 1869 at Korokoro. At first they had declared themselves satisfied ; but it did not take them long to reflect that, after all, they had had to cede a great deal, and in their disappointment they forgot what had been given back to them. Influenced by that legitimate grief and guided by the advice of a Natal advocate, Mr. Buchanan, who had espoused their cause, they decided to send a deputation to London to request the British Minister to refuse to ratify the Aliwal treaty. Tsekelo, son of Mosheh, was chosen as their representative and Mr. Buchanan and Rev. Daumas accompanied him. The latter could not get over the final abandonment of his beautiful station of Mekuatleng, where he had lived for over thirty years and where his great and blessed activity was now ended. He was determined to do eveything possible to save his station.

That step seems quite natural and it seems somewhat strange that the other missionaries did not support it and that, on the contrary, they declined to have anything to do with it. No doubt they shared the feelings which prompted Rev. Daumas and Mr. Buchanan, but they realised how dangerous it was to thus query the arrangements made. They knew how difficult it had been for Sir Ph. Wodehouse to attain his object. If the treaty were not ratified by the British Government, the consequences might be disastrous. The whole question would be reopened and there would be danger of losing in an instant everything which it had taken so much trouble to gain. It would mean either war between

England and the Free State or, more probably, England's abandonment of Basutoland, which would inevitably be followed by a new conquest.

Besides, the missionaries had promised their moral support to Sir Ph. Wodehouse. They could not honourably refuse it to him now. Wisdom, loyalty and the sacredness of their word compelled them to abstain from taking any part in such an undertaking. Had they acted differently, they would have complicated matters and gravely compromised their character and their work.

In France, where the complicated state of affairs was not fully realised, those missionaries were not understood and they have been severely blamed, even by their best friends.

The Committee of the Mission gave its fullest support to the step taken by Rev. Daumas, Mr. Buchanan and the chief Tsekelo. It was stated that Sir Ph. Wodehouse had deprived the Basutos of a portion of their country, whereas in truth he had succeeded in getting back for them what remained of it. That agitation, if prolonged, could have had serious consequences and done much harm to the Mission. The British Ministry closed the matter at the end of the year 1869 by ratifying the treaty of Aliwal.

The missionaries did not wait for that moment to arrive in order to begin their work afresh. That work had never in reality been entirely interrupted. The Berea station had been occupied by Revs. Maitin and Duvoisin during the whole war ; that of Thaba-Bosigo had been re-occupied by Rev. Mabille in 1866. Rev. Jousse, who had returned in 1867, had lost no time in rebuilding his

house and the Church, both of which had been destroyed during the war. The work proceeded as if the future were sure, although the struggle had begun afresh and the enemy could arrive at any moment. That is a beautiful example of faith and of courage which cannot be sufficiently admired. At Bethesda,notwithstanding continual attacks, Mr. Gossellin had continued to preach the Gospel almost without interruption : Rev. Ellenberger was at work in his new Masitise station. Carmel had remained outside the pale of hostilities, and at Mabolela Rev. Keck had been able to keep a portion of his flock.

Such was not the case in the other stations. The missionaries had been violently expelled from them in 1866 ; but the churches, deprived of their leaders, lived from day to day,having confidence in God,and rejoicing at the tranquillity of the moment without caring too much about what the morrow would bring. As the missionaries were no longer there to preach the Gospel the elders and the evangelists did so in their stead. The congregations met in the open or under the shelter of some rock, or under the trees of the missionary's garden and sometimes even between the debris of a chuch building that had been destroyed. Characters had been tempered and hearts strengthened by these tribulations.

New conversions took place, renegades returned to the faith, and the Basutos under the weight of the calamities which had befallen them, seemed to turn again towards the Gospel. It was like a renewal of life. Even in the camps among the heathens, prayers went up regularly to God. Events fully proved that a wise step had been taken in 1863 in providing Native evangelists; they

contributed in a large measure to maintain the churches in the Christian faith and life. They were the guides of that multitude which was deprived of its ministers. And when at last peace was re-established in the country,and the missionaries were able to return to their stations, they had the surprise and the joy of finding their flocks even more numerous than when they left, and of seeing a crowd of new Christians surrounding them.

At Thaba-Bosigo and at Berea where the Basutos had concentrated, and which formed, so to say, large entrenched camps,the work of the Mission proceeded under quite special conditions, and the evangelization of the people could be undertaken with great intensity A fine revival took place at Thaba-Bosigo in 1866 during Rev. Mabille's stay there, and continued long after the return of Rev. Jousse. In the midst of so many material ruins, the Church had been able not only to live, but also to grow and to become stronger.

As soon as the British Protectorate had been proclaimed (March 1866) and although the state of affairs had not changed much and in many places the war continued almost as in the past, the missionaries thought of returning to their stations, or at any rate to those which were situated in the centre of the country and thus enjoyed relative safety. Rev. Mabille returned to Morija in May, and at once endeavoured to repair the ruin, both material and moral, which the war had brought about. Rev. Germond left for Masitise in spite of the prudent counsels of Sir Ph. Wodehouse, who had advised him to wait a little longer. He crossed the Orange River and remaind for some time at Bethesda to assist Mr. Gosselin to re-organise his station. Eventually,

towards the end of the year, he succeeded in re-starting work at Thabana-Morena. It was only in 1869 that Rev. Dyke was able to return to Morija to take charge of the Normal School and Rev. Coillard to Leribe,after having spent several months in our old station of Motito, in Bechuanaland. Extraordinary difficulties had retarded the re-starting of the work at these two stations.

Notwithstanding the sorrows of the past, the difficulties of the present time,and the still uncertain future (the treaty of Aliwal had not been made yet), that epoch was one of joy and of a revival for the whole Mission. The Christians gathered round their missionaries whom they had no longer hoped to see again. Numerous converts filled and more than filled the places of those whom death or defections had claimed. In the midst of the trials of those four long years the Basuto Christians proved that they were worthy of their vocation. The revival which had begun at Thaba-Bosigo in 1866 had now become fairly general, and in 1868 Rev. Duvoisin wrote : "Never has Basutoland presented a more joyful aspect from the point of view of evangelization". But new trials arose to swell the old ones : An epidemic of typhoid fever devastated the country and carrried away numerous Christians. Mrs. E. Casalis was one of its victims.

Our missionaries were not satisfied to re-establish the pre-war work ; they were doing more.They pondered over the additional duties which the new position of Basutoland would surely impose on the Mission. The country being now a British Protectorate, public education would no doubt develop more quickly and more completely than during the past. It was necessary to be

prepared for it, and so Rev. Mabille, pre-eminently a man of action, always the first at the breach, always fully acquainted with the requirements of the moment and in the vanguard of any new work to be created, decided to found, so to say on his own, the Normal School which had been spoken of for twenty years. In 1865 the Conference had decided to place that school at Morija, but the war had upset all the arrangements. Rev. Mabille, opining that the moment had at last arrived when that plan should be put into execution, without waiting for a general re-starting of the work, without knowing whether the necessary funds would be available, gathered together a few young men and took it upon himself to give all the lessons while Mrs. Mabille undertook the household management for the pupils. Such was the primitive beginning, without suitable buildings and without any school furniture, of an institution which was destined to be of exceedingly great service to the whole of Basutoland. (1).

To found a school of that kind at such a time required an exceptional amount of faith and extraordinary moral courage. Everything was disorganised, the war was not finished, the Boer commandos still risked penetrating into the immediate vicinity of Morija. Most of the stations were not even occupied ; that of Rev. Mabille had hardly been re-started. But the school was a necessity, it absolutely had to be established and it was established. When the Conference was at last able to sit, the following year, it found the establishment of the school

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(1) Picturesque details concerning the commencement of this school may be gleaned from the biography of Adolphe Mabille by H. Dieterlen.

an accomplished fact. Rev. Mabille placed before it a school, small and humble no doubt, but full of life and well organised. The hesitation which, had it not been for his initiative, might probably have retarded its opening, was no longer possible. And so the Conference officially adopted the school and called Rev. Dyke to be its Principal, whilst Rev. Mabille continued to give lessons there. The missionaries had in mind that that school should serve to train both evangelists and teachers. It was only later that it became a Normal School in the proper sense and that a Biblical School was founded.

In 1870 Rev. Mabille began to set his printing press going again, and in 1871 he printed the books of the Old Testament in separate booklets.

The Leselinyana newspaper, the issue of which had been interrupted since 1865, made its reappearance in 1870 and its publication has never ceased to this day, except for a period of two years at the time of the War of the Guns (1880—1881).

By 1869 all the Basutoland stations had been occupied again, that is, of course, those of which the Free State had not deprived us. The final abandonment of Poortje (New Beersheba,) Hebron and Mekuatleng necessitated changes in the personnel.

Rev. E. Rolland was placed at Hermon, at which place a large number of the inhabitants of Beersheba had taken refuge; his aged father, ill and weak, resided with him among his old parishioners. Rev. Cochet went to Bethesda, to join Mr. Gossellin, but he left the following year to return temporarily to Europe. The other missionaries remained in their old stations.

Rev. Casalis had taken his abode at Morija, where his brother-in-law Rev. Mabille had resided. In all we retained 9 stations in Basutoland proper, namely Leribe, Berea, Thaba-Bosigo, Morija, Hermon, Thabana-Morena, Siloe, Bethesda and Masitise.

Outside Basutoland, the Mission only had Mabolela and Carmel, the latter of which was abandoned owing to the death of Rev. Lemue.

The Conference would have preferréd giving up Mabolela. The work which it was possible to do there seemed to it to be of too little importance to warrant the activities of a missionary. But Rev. Keck brought forward arguments before which the Conference eventually gave way, although against its wish.

Mekuatleng on the other hand was not destined to regain its position. The Bataungs, who inhabited it under the government of the chief Moletsane, had migrated to Basutoland. They had taken up their residence round about our station at Siloe, in the district which they still occupy to-day. The Christian population of Siloe thus increased to a large extent. But if Mekuatleng had ceased to exist as one of our stations, yet the great work done there by Rev. Daumas remained. The Bataung clan is to-day one of those among whom Christianity has made the greatest progress.That is certainly the fruit of the long and successful ministry of that excellent missionary, one of the best that our Society has possessed. Small congregations dotted about in the Free State still claimed to belong to the Basutoland Mission as detached members. Thus at Bethulie a Native evangelist, under the guidance of Mrs. Pellissier, attended to

what remained of our old station. At Smithfield (1), where he had established himself as a doctor, Dr. Lautré, ministered to a small congregation of Basutos. A few years later these two posts were placed under the supervision of Rev. Keck ; they became sorts of out-stations of Mabolela, and that station thereby acquired a little more importance.

The war with the Boers and the peace treaty which terminated it had reduced the field of the Basutoland Mission; but as compensation, a new territory was opening for it up. In 1866 and 1867 some Basuto clans had settled to the south of the Drakensberg in Griqualand East and so to say a new Basutoland was springing up there. Our Mission could not but interest itself in those people who really had a claim to be ministered to by it. Many Christians from Basutoland were among those emigrants. The journey of Rev. Germond in 1867 had prepared the way for us. The Conference unanimously recognised the necessity of establishing two stations there at the earliest opportunity. But that meant two additional missionaries, whereas their number barely sufficed for the needs of Basutoland proper, and the Committee was not in a position to furnish them. In fact, the Committee had advised the Conference already in 1869 not to reckon on further men, for the field of activity in Basutoland appeared to it to have been narrowed down too much to warrant a larger personnel. All that could be done under the circumstances, therefore, was to send two Basuto catechists to Griqualand East in the hope that it would be possible to

(1) Boer village situated not far from the old Beersheba station.

do more some day. Many years had to go by, before that wish was realised.

In 1871 the Mission had not only got back to its former activity and been reorganised, but it had begun afresh to add to its successes. The statistics for that year, the first to be given out since 1864, were most encouraging. They showed a total number of 1,831 communicants, 1,430 catechumens and 1,876 scholars as against 1,676, 355 and 726 respectively in 1864.

The figures showed, therefore, at that time 3,261 Christian adults as against 2,211 in 1864, a net gain of over 1,000, and that notwithstanding deaths, emigrations, defections and the dispersal of so many of the Christians. The storm which had burst over the Mission and which seemed at one time to threaten it in its entirety was over, and instead of a work impoverished, diminished and retarded in its progress, a remarkable advance and an unexpected development were witnessed. God had turned to the highest benefit of His Church the events which had seemed destined to do it the most harm.

The years 1870 and 1871, so fatal to France, and which enshrouded the Basutoland Mission with such a veil of mourning, also witnessed the removal of two of the veterans of the work, Rev. Lemue and Rev. Daumas. Rev. Lemue died at Carmel on the 10th of March 1870. He had held a unique position in the Conference, where his urbanity, his wisdom and his peaceful disposition had rendered him particularly dear to all his colleagues. His death was inevitably followed by the final abandonment of the station of Carmel, which he himself had advised as he knew only too well the difficulties with

which mission work in Boer territory was fraught. Like Rev. Rolland and Rev. Pellissier, Rev. Lemue, who had left Paris in 1829, had never seen France again. Rev. Daumas died in Natal on the 22nd of January 1871. The ruin of Mekuatleng and the failure of the object for which he had gone to Europe had broken his heart. The death of his daughter was the last blow. Before his death he had the joy, however, of hearing of the sincere conversion of the old chief Moletsane, whose missionary, advisor and friend he had been for so many years.

A still more important chief also seemed at that same time to be on the point of conversion. Moshesh, old and worn out by grief and worry, was now a mere shadow of his former self. His last joy had been to witness England extend the protection of her flag over him and his people at a moment when his kingdom was about to crumble down under the blows of the Boers. But he could not become reconciled to the thought that his country was smaller, his tribe prostrated, and that he himself was no longer the real sovereign of Basutoland. His people had been saved, but at the price of their independence. Besides, his time was passed : his sons barely consulted him and acted as if he were no more ; the British Government ignored him almost entirely ; his old companions had disappeared the one after the other ; he felt alone and left behind.

During the last months of his life he appeared to realise that Jesus Christ was also claiming him. He asked for the prayers of the Christians and declared that he was converted. He even requested Rev. Jousse to advise his old missionaries Rev. Arbousset and Rev. Casalis of the fact. But, alas ! true to the end to his po-

licy of procrastination, he put off the time of his baptism from day to day. Faced with the obsessions of the Roman Catholic priests, who insisted on baptising him, and not having the strength necessary to openly resist them, he dared not take the decisive step. At last, however, he fixed the date for his baptism, which event it was desired to make as public and as solemn as possible. All the missionaries were to have been there, and the annual Conference had been arranged to take place earlier for that purpose.

But on the 11th of March 1870, two days before the date decided upon, Moshesh breathed his last without having been received into the Church. Those who visited him during the last months of his life and could speak freely with him, were persuaded of the reality and sincerity of his conversion. Others had serious doubts concerning it. It is God's secret. The missionaries buried him on the 12th of March 1870 on his mountain of Thaba-Bosigo, the royal necropolis. An enormous crowd was present at his funeral. His death marks the end of a whole epoch of the history of the Mission and of the tribe. Henceforth Basutoland would be under the protection of England, and its security assured. The old chief who created the tribe, who directed it through so many dangers and managed to conserve and strengthen it in spite of all its trials, could now depart in peace with the certainty that his work would survive.

His death removed one of the greatest figures in South Africa. He acquitted himself of his duties as chief better than any other Native potentate. He was the creator and the father of his people. He united into

a strong and compact nation the fragments of the old Basuto clans, who without him would have disappeared rapidly before the conquests of the Europeans. His name has remained deservedly popular in the country, and the Basutos cherish his memory with love and gratitude. As the years go by he will become more and more in their eyes a legendary figure.

Our Mission owes him much, possibly far more than we think. He facilitated its establishment, protected and favoured it. Without his support and without his constant aid, it would never have acquired so rapidly the development which we have seen. He spared it from difficulties and dangers against which it would otherwise have had to battle. During the first years of the Mission, years which from 1833 to 1848 were so beautiful and so fertile, he helped it with all his power, and at one time during that period he appeared to be on the point of conversion.

But the wars which continually brought desolation to his country from 1848 to 1868 and the repeated disasters which cast him down and humiliated him, drew him away from Christianity and he again fell under the influence of paganism and of hesitancy. He no longer had time to think seriously of the salvation of his soul; the past held sway over him again, and when Rev. Casalis and Rev. Arbousset left, no missionary had the influence which these two pioneers had had, and he became a complete heathen again, at least for a time. It was only in the very last months of his life that he turned again towards Christianity.

In spite of all the faults with which one is justified in reproaching him, he nevertheless remains in the eyes

of an impartial observer, a personality of the first order, one of these rare characters which God suscitates when He has a great work to perform. Few heathen chiefs have served the cause of the Gospel to the same extent.

IV

Opening up and expansion of the Mission (1871—1880)

The new political regime of Basutoland made the task of the Mission easier in many respects.

Everything had now been altered and the Mission work was about to proceed under entirely different conditions ; for the first time for over twenty years complete security could now be enjoyed ; war-cries and the noise of rifles would no longer be heard.

The Basutos, protected and controlled by a power which commands the respect of all, would now be able to attend in peace to the cultivation of their fields and to the tending of their cattle. They would no longer have to fear the attacks of the Boers, and their boundaries had now been definitely settled. Internal peace was also assured ; the British Resident would know how to enforce it. That was a blessing the importance of which can never be exaggerated. If the British Government had not held power in Basutoland at the time of the death of Moshesh, civil war would have had full and permanent sway, with the inevitable result that the tribe would have crumbled away rapidly. The sons of Moshesh (Letsie, Molapo and Masopha) were jealous of one another and would undoubtedly have quarrelled over the succession, and his brothers would not have consented to submit to them. The Govern-

ment which protected them all equally, compelled them to live in tranquillity and order, and peace reigned in the country.

The chiefs had been deprived of the greater part of their authority. The Resident Commissioner and the Magistrates governed in their stead and written laws had replaced ancient customs to a large extent.

Those laws were based on the ideas of civilised and Christian people. The rights of the individual were expressly recognised by them. All were equal before the law, in theory at any rate. The simple Mosuto was protected as never before against arbitrary acts on the part of the chiefs, whether petty or great. The people had more independence and it was easier for them to become Christians and to break with the heathen traditions of the tribe. The ties by which they were bound had been loosened. They could now develop as they desired, thrive through their work and become civilised.

There was, however, a shadow in the picture; like every medal it had a reverse side. National unity, although protected against enemies from outside and internal dissention, was in danger. The great chief was in theory the Paramount Chief of the whole of Basutoland; but the country was divided into three large districts, namely those of Letsie, of Molapo and of Masopha. That division threatened to become permanent. (1). The "divide and rule" maxim has been the favour-

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(1) In the years which followed and especially at the time of the Paramount Chief Griffith that danger was recognised, and great efforts were made by the Paramount Chief to fight against that system by endeavouring to impose the central authority emanating from him throughout the country, either through the judiciary or otherwise.

ite one of every colonial power ever since the days of the Romans ; even the best adopt it. Basutoland was always "one" in a sense, since it was governed in its entirety by the Resident Commissioner at Maseru, but it ran the risk of ceasing to be so any time the Governor of the Cape so desired. That was quite apparent after the Moorosi war in 1879, when the district of Quthing, to the south of the Orange River, narrowly escaped being detached from the rest of the country.

In addition, from 1871 Basutoland was officially annexed to the Cape Colony. It was no longer directly under the British Crown ; the Cape Parliament had the right to direct its destiny. It is true, however, that the Colonial laws did not necessarily concern it, for a special decree of the High Commissioner in consultation with his ministers was necessary in order to make them applicable to Basutoland.

At the time, the Cape Colony and those who governed it were animated by the best intentions ; they cared solely for the wants and the interests of the Basutos themselves ; the taxes that were levied were to be spent entirely in the country and no portion of them could be diverted into other channels. But could it be certain that matters would always remain like that, that in legislating for Basutoland the Government would not one day be guided by other considerations and have in mind the interests of the "superior race" above all ? There was in that a real danger for the future.

But in those early times nobody troubled about that. The chief magistrate of the country (1) (Mr. Ch.

(1) Styled at that time the Governor's Agent (Translator)

Griffith), who had succeeded the acting commissioner (Mr. Bouker) in 1871, was the friend of theBlacks. He knew and understood them. He governed them solely in their interest and his policy consisted in securing the peaceful development of the tribe. The policy of the Cape Colony at that time (later it changed) was broad and generous towards theNatives. True liberals like Saul Solomon were inspiring and guiding it. They desired the progress of the Natives and developed public education, and the Christian Mission found in the directing spirits of that policy real friends and protectors. It was recognised that the Mission was a power to be reckoned with and that its influence was entirely towards peace and progress. The Government in aiding the Mission, relied upon the latter being in a position in its turn to render it inestimable services. The Basutoland Mission could but gain by the great change which had taken place. Instead of having to deal with heathen chiefs, sometimes hostile, more frequently indifferent, almost always unable to understand the real aim of the Mission and jealous of its influence, it had to do with a Christian government which was honest, enlightened and full of good will, besides generously helping the Mission schools by its subsidies. It was a force of which the Mission took full advantage. Truly a great change had taken place and was all the more noticeable if one looked back to the years of war through which the tribe had passed ; from now on the work would be able to develop without any obstacles ; the wind was favourable and everything was pointing to prosperity. The Mission would now be able to show what it was cap-

able of doing and it was justified in its high hopes. Its schools were becoming more and more numerous and Christianity was advancing in keeping with them. It enjoyed the support of the Government; the roughest phases of paganism would of necessity disappear and the new regime would endeavour by all means to destroy all that was too glaringly in disagreement with European ideas and customs. The period with which we are dealing at present, namely that from 1871 to 1880, is one of the most remarkable in the history of the Mission. Those ten years, so short and yet so prolific, were of exceptional importance for the future of the Church in Basutoland. They can be compared to those of 1837 to 1848, when the same forward movement took place under the influence of similar causes. The power of England protected the Mission as Moshesh protected it then, and with the aid of peace, no serious obstacle stood in the way of its progress. The second mission generation, which we saw make its appearance in 1860 and 1861, would now be in a position to hasten the realisation of its ideals and to apply its methods. It had begun to do so between 1862 and 1865, but under circumstances infinitely less favourable, and the war had abruptly interrupted those efforts. Now, however, everything urged it and invited it to the work. And thus it was that an admirable opening up and an almost uninterrupted progress was witnessed. Everything went ahead, both in the Church and in the schools, and it was at that time that the Mission, becoming more and more conscious of itself and of its destiny, elaborated the special type of Church which it was to produce, and that the various elements of its future organisation took shape.

That favourable position however was hiding a danger which was not then perceptible, but which the future would divulge. Up to that time the Mission, leaning on Moshesh, labouring among the members of a tribe still independent and proud of its traditions, had identified itself with the life of the Basutos, and had become and remained a Mission national in the best sense of the term. It was not only *in* Basutoland but was *of* Basutoland and never desired to be otherwise. That was the very reason why it incurred the hatred of so many of the Free State Boers between the years 1858 and 1869. Now, however, a European administration governed the country, and in leaning on it, as was only natural, the Mission ran the risk of some day finding its cause separated from that of the national cause. In keeping in too much with a Government, which, after all, was foreign, it was in danger of losing touch to some extent with the tribe and of ceasing to be as completely national. It would easily be tempted to reckon too much on the support of the Colonial power to civilise and christianise the mass of the tribe, in disagreement, possibly, with the intimate sentiments of the Basutos themselves.

It did not escape that danger entirely, and the political crisis which took place in 1880 also affected it. The Mission, however, like the tribe itself, took full advantage of the ten years of peace which were now to follow. No political danger threatened them. The only events which might have disturbed the peace of the country were a crisis which quickly passed over in 1873, on the occasion of the flight into Basutoland of the Kaffir Chief, Langalebalele, who had rebelled against the Natal

Government, and the war, a purely local one, against Moorosi in 1879. (1).

During those peaceful years, which were a period of real prosperity, Basutoland made great strides towards civilisation. Its population increased greatly; from 127,000 in 1875 it went to 160,000 or 170,000 in 1880. Commerce was flourishing ; little square buildings, after the European style, were gradually taking the place of the old Native huts ; the cultivation of the land doubled and trebled, and the Basutos became well to do. Basutoland was described everywhere as the best policed and the most progressive Native territory in the whole of South Africa. That was a direct fruit of the Mission, and the Government has always recognised it as such.

That Government, on its side, rendered inestimable services to the tribe and helped its progress very materially by the order which it preserved, the justice of its administration and the efforts it made to educate the Natives. In many respects it was a model Government, and Colonel Ch. Griffith, who was at its head, has an undeniable right to the gratitude of the Basutos.

These few details sufficiently indicate the new circumstances under which the Mission now laboured, and the advantages as well as the dangers of the situation. We have now to describe its progress during those ten years and to depict its activities, which were more intense and more complex than formerly. It is difficult to give a general idea of them in anything like a clear and complete manner in a few pages. So many things

(1) Moorosi, chief of the Baphutis of the Quthing district, was a vassal of Moshesh ; his district formed part of Basutoland.

were begun and so much progress realised, that their multiplicity makes the task of the writer a particularly difficult one; all the more so as but few exceptional events stand out clearly on the rather monotonous background of a normal and regular development. It will thus be necessary to abandon the chronological order, and to deal separately with each one of the branches of activity of the Mission and to show what progress was made in each.

We shall first mention what concerns the personnel, the expansion of the new stations founded, the out-stations, the evangelization and the numerical progress of Christianity. As always, the Basutoland Mission suffered during that period also from a want of workers. In 1870 and 1871 death removed the Reverends Lemue and Daumas; in 1872 it claimed Mr Gossellin, and in 1873 Rev. S. Rolland. The first missionary generation had thus disappeared almost entirely. In 1872 Rev. E. Rolland of Hermon accepted a situation as magistrate in the administration of Basutoland; in him the Mission was losing a worker still young and on whom it had thought that it could reckon for many long years. Other missionaries were away in Europe on furlough. Rev. Cochet who had left in 1870, only returned to Basutoland in 1873, and Rev. Germond, who had left a little later than he, returned the same year as he did. Several stations had thus perforce to remain vacant at a time when the Mission was more in need of all its workers than ever. The Conference hastily replaced Rev. Rolland at Hermon by Rev. E. Casalis. Owing to special circumstances which will be narrated further on, the latter had to return to Morija the following year. He was temporarily replaced at Hermon by Rev. Ellen-

berger, and the Masitise station thus remained without a missionary.

In order to fill all three vacancies and to occupy the new posts which it had been necessary to create, new workers were urgently needed. But the Committee was unable to send a sufficient number. Mr. Preen arrived in 1872 and was placed provisionally at Morija to assist Rev. Dyke at the Normal School. The arrival of Rev. Kohler in 1873 made it possible at last to re-occupy the station of Cana between Thaba-Bosigo and Leribe. That station, which had been founded by Rev. Keck in 1846, had been evacuated already in 1848, owing to the crisis through which the Mission Society had passed at that time. The work there should have been taken up again much earlier, but it had been utterly impossible to do so with the restricted personnel with which the Mission had had to manage for so many years. The return of Reverends Cochet and Germond in 1873 made it possible to take up the work again at Bethesda and Thabana-Morena. A most useful temporary help was rendered to the Mission by the presence in its midst of Revs. Creux and P. Berthoud of the Swiss Mission. The former had arrived in Basutoland in 1872 and had been placed at Masitise the following year, whereas the latter had arrived in 1873 to join Rev. Mabille in his expedition to the Transvaal.

The Mission had wisely resolved, after the treaty of 1869, to direct all its efforts on Basutoland proper and to occupy that country in its entirety. The stations of Mekuatleng, Poortjie and Hebron, which had been destroyed during the war, had not been reoccupied and Carmel had also been abandoned. The sale of the grounds

and of the buildings of those stations had furnished the funds necessary for the establishment of the Normal School and the building up of out-stations. That policy of concentration was dictated by circumstances and has had the most fortunate consequences. The whole Mission established in Basutoland was bound to show more unity and more cohesion than before. In the Free State it now possessed only the station of Mabolela, and that only provisionally; and the small congregations of the out-stations of Bethulie and Smithfield, which were under it, were to be ceded at a later date to the Dutch Reformed Church. On that side there was no possibility of coming to an understanding. But on the other side of the mountains, in Griqualand East, there was a vast district inhabited by Basutos, where our Mission had already placed two evangelists in 1870. That territory was, so to say, an *extra muros* Basutoland of which it had decided to take possession. In 1875 Mr. Preen was instructed to establish the station of Matatiele there, and in 1877 the arrival of a new missionary, Rev. Christmann, placed the Mission in a position to establish another one at Paballong. Three new stations had thus been opened from 1872 to 1877 in spite of the small number of workers. However much it may seem, it was in reality very far from satisfactory. To do justice to the work, at least one more station should have been estalished at Joel Molapo's (1) at the extreme north of Basutoland.

At that time the population would have been far more accessible to the Gospel than it was later, when the station of Qalo was founded at last in 1889. However, in occupying Cana, the Mission had at any rate streng-

(1) Son of the chief Molapo, half-brother and rival of Jonathan.

thened its position in the north and definitely obtained a footing in Griqualand East.

What complicated the situation and made the want of available workers still more felt, was the vision of an outside mission among the Banyais (in the present Rhodesia), which at that time hypnotised quite a number of the missionary corps. However admirable that attempt at a far away expansion (of which we shall write later) may have been in many respects, we cannot but regret all that Basutoland itself lost thereby. The right policy would have been to strengthen the work in Basutoland first of all and to have waited until the country had been completely occupied before launching out into distant conquests.

In addition, the number of the missionaries was affected by the premature death of Rev. L. Cochet in 1877, the departure of Rev. Dyke for Europe on furlough in 1876 and his retirement on pension shortly after his return. The new missionaries were barely numerous enough to fill the vacancies. Rev. H. Dieterlen, who had arrived in Basutoland in January 1874, became the missionary of Hermon the same year, after the failure of his expedition among the Banyais. Rev. Cochet took the place of his father, who had just died, at Bethesda in 1877. The same year Rev. R. H. Dyke became the assistant at the Normal School, of Rev. Casalis, who had been left alone at that work by the retirement on pension of Rev. Dyke senior. In 1879 Rev. Marzolff occupied the station of Matatiele, which Mr. Preen had left the previous year in order to take charge of the Industrial School, first at Thabana-Morena and later at Leloaleng, Rev. Dormoy, who had

arrived the same year, was temporarily placed at Leribe, as Rev. Coillard was then in Europe to make the necessary preparations for the foundation of the Zambesi Mission. All these changes (we have not mentioned them all by any means) in the personnel of the stations sufficiently indicate the difficulties in which the Mission found itself and what a loss it was for it that it did not possess more workers.

Although they were manifestly too few in number to be able to fulfil all their obligations, yet the missionaries displayed very great activity ; that time is the period when evangelization was pushed the most vigorously, when more and more out-stations were founded, when the Churches grew the most rapidly and when ecclesiastical life began to expand to its utmost. There was then a real and deep religious life. Fine awakenings in many places, examples of real Christian devotion and of the finest zeal testified to it.

The number of communicants, which in 1872 was 2,117, was 3,094 in 1876 and reached the number of 4,277 in 1880, which means that it had doubled itself in nine years. In 1872 there were 1,325 catechumens ; in 1876 there were 1646; and in 1880 there were 1,712. The total number of Christian adults was 3,502 in 1872, 4,740 in 1876, and 5,984 in 1880. Those figures show that the Mission was once more on the forward march. From 1848 to 1868, during the twenty years of war through which it had gone, the Mission had been able to gain only 450 communicants, but then years of peace and of uninterrupted labour gave it a net gain of over 2,600 conversions. The time of abundant and joyful harvest had arrived for the Mission.

Out-stations were also continuing to grow in number; there were 37 in 1872, 53 in 1876 and 71 in 1880. If we add to those figures 13 mission stations and the out-stations of Smithfield and Bethulie in the Free State, that makes a total number of 84 churches in 1880, where the Gospel was preached regularly every Sunday and where the catechumens received religious instruction every week. These figures give perhaps better than the others an idea of the life of the churches, for it was the churches which established those out-stations and supported them out of their own resources, and as the Biblical School (the beginning of which dates from 1876), did not exist yet, they had to draw the evangelists required to manage them, from within themselves.

At the same period the contributions or collections, named Kabelo (offering), began to play an important role in the ecclesiastical life. There was, perhaps, a drawback in that, for money, however indispensable it may be, often does harm, and by wanting to find too much of it, a church may run the risk of losing its purely spiritual character. And yet, it was necessary that the Native Christians should learn to give, to support their workers and no longer reckon too much on the help of the Christians of Europe. It was only fair and normal that they should be pressed to make pecuniary sacrifices and that they be educated to that effect. That was the best possible preparation for their future autonomy and independence.

Both the churches and their missionaries fully realised that duty. Comparatively speaking, the average rate of contribution of the churches was relatively high; the sums which they brought in were proportionally

considerable for the country if we take into account the financial position of the Christians and the really very small resources of the people of Basutoland. In 1876 they had reached a total of 27,000 francs. The time was drawing near, it seemed, when it would be possible for the churches of Basutoland to bear the whole cost of the Native work. It was to that desirable end that the missionaries were striving. The Basuto Christians, or at least the more enlightened among them, also fully understood the position.

Church matters, the solution of the complicated questions which presented themselves, such as ecclesiastical discipline, the foundation of out-stations, methods of evangelization, etc., etc., were no longer solely in the hands of the missionaries. The elders, whose existence dated from some considerable time back, were assuming more and more importance, and together with the evangelists of the out-stations, they formed the Church Council, which we name the Consistory. They were the counsellors, the helpers of the missionary. The latter had the chief say, and when occasion arose, if ever it did, his decision prevailed ; the Consistory understood that and admitted it; it was as in the Lekhotla, or Native tribunal, where the chief decides finally, after having taken the advice of all his subordinates. The Consistory was in the Church what the Lekhotla is in the life of the village and of the tribe. It was the best school for the education of the elders and of the evangelists, where they were taught to manage their churches. They were thus taught autonomy ; they acquired a real sense of their responsibilities and were fitted to face them. That local organisation, which had formed itself everywhere little by

little, was codified and regulated in 1872. It was desirable that there should be as much uniformity as possible in all the churches, and in most of them the congregation itself had also a voice in the affairs of the church and many important points were discussed by the full congregation.

By the institution of the Consistory, of church contributions and of out-stations, the local churches had organised themselves; the Native and lay element played an important role, but the missionary remained the real spiritual head and kept the management of everything in his hands. But there was no organisation of the whole as yet. The ties which bound the various parishes together were very loose. Each one directed its own work more or less as it wished. The Conference formed, it is true, a real bond between the various elements of the Mission, and certain general rules applied to the churches as a whole. But that did not seem to suffice any longer. The want of a firmer organisation and a desire for more unity made themselves felt. Dr. Duff had already drawn the attention of the missionaries to that fact when they were gathered at Carmel in 1864. It was further desired that Native influence should make itself felt in the general conduct of the Church as well as in the local churches. It was thus necessary that a central body, in which the Native element would be represented, should come into existence side by side with the Conference, the personnel of which was European. To continue on the lines followed since the beginning meant taking a serious risk of never being able to create a real Church. Congregationalism, which would eventually have resulted, was neither desirable in itself nor in conformity with the ecclesiastical traditions of the French missionaries.

It was primarily thought that such a central organnisation could be found only in a Synod, in accordance with Reformed tradition. A first attempt, which did not bear any official character, had already been made once when Rev. Mabille, with the sanction and at the express request of the Conference, had convoked the delegates of the churches of Basutoland at Morija in 1865. They had discussed certain important questions with the missionaries. That attempt had been a great success and it was natural that it should be desired to carry the matter further. This time, however, the desire was for a real deliberating and law-making Synod, an official meeting of the churches of Basutoland, a body which should become the head and the centre of management of the whole Mission. No time was lost in forming it, and the first regular Synod of Basutoland met at Thaba-Bosigo in 1872.

It sat at Morija in 1874, at Leribe in 1876 and again at Thaba-Bosigo in 1879. The attempt made did not, however, bear the fruit which had been expected of it. The introduction into Basutoland of the complete organisation of the Churches of France had been too quick and premature; by a curious coincidence, those Churches of France were at that same time again beginning to meet in Synods. It would have been more advisable to have moved more cautiously and to have advanced only step by step in that path so new to the Basutos. The representative system, which is the basis of all Synods, did not form part of the traditions of the country. The Natives were not used to it and could not understand that decisions taken through the votes of their delegates could be binding on them. The various churches, so used to

managing their own affairs, found it difficult to submit to the Synod legislating for them without their express sanction in each particular case. To overcome that difficulty, the Conference had decided that important resolutions taken by the Synod should be sent to the Consistories ad referendum. This however, had the effect of creating another difficulty, for what would the position be if the resolutions of the Synod were adopted bv the majority of the Consistories but not approved by one or more of them ? The dangers of that method soon became apparent.

There was another evident source of trouble against which it was equally necessary to guard. The Native delegates, evangelists and elders, had an enormous majority in the Synod. That numerical preponderance could easily rob the missionaries of their legitimate influence, as up to then they had been the sole managers of the work, and changes of a grave nature could thus be brought about in the conduct of the affairs of the Church.

To ward off this evil, it had been decided that at the Synod the European missionaries should vote separately, and that in order to be legal, every decision should receive their express approval. It is easy to realise that one danger had been avoided by creating another perhaps more serious.

The very natural precautions which it had been necessary to take showed that the Mission stood on slippery ground. It would have been wise, in any case, to go slowly and to bring only questions of secondary importance before the first Synods, for a false step might have had disastrous consequences. And yet the very reverse was done. An error was made in asking the

Synod to solve questions for which it was far from mature. In its very first session, it legislated and did so without measure. Both the missionaries and the Basutos were, it seems, agreed on that point. Time after time, decisions of extreme importance were taken concerning ecclesiastical discipline. On certain points the proceedings varied in various churches and there was a want of uniformity. At the instance of the Natives, to whom the missionaries unfortunately gave way too easily, the Synod decided to unify everything and to impose on all Consistories its own way of doing things. The Synod went too far; it made regulations concerning matters the solution of which should have been left either to local churches, or better still, to the conscience of individual Christians. The old discipline, which was fairly vague and was applied in many places with a wise prudence, was narrowed down to a most severe precision and became almost like a code of the moral life of the Christians.

When they returned to their respective churches, the delegates, who had voted on all those questions without hesitation, found that they were no longer in full agreement. They had not sufficiently understood the decisions they had taken and, as a consequence, there was friction, and dissatisfaction soon became apparent in more than one of the churches.

At Hermon that brought about what was little short of a revolution ; it created a schism which could have had the most serious consequences. For nearly two years, a big section of the church separated from the rest of the Mission.

There were, as was also the case in France at the same time, the synodal and the anti-synodal parties. The peculiar situation of the Hermon Church was favourable for divisions. Quite a number of the flock consisted of old Beersheba people, who did not agree too well with the other Christians. Proud of their past and of their traditions, imagining themselves superior to the other Basutos, they took advantage of this opportunity to form a separate party and to endeavour to impose their will on the rest. Dr. Casalis, who had just taken over that station from Rev. Rolland, suffered cruelly owing to that state of affairs. The revolution was partly directed against him personally. The Beersheba Natives looked upon him as an intruder to whom they refused to submit. The Conference, which the Doctor had requested to send him elsewhere, appealed to Rev. Ellenberger to fill the post. The latter consented to leave Masitise provisionally, at any rate, to undertake the difficult task of bringing about union in a divided church and of restoring order. He succeeded eventually, but not without difficulty, in re-establishing peace, and after two years the revolutionary party formally submitted. The schism was fortunately at an end. It had not had the grave results which were feared at one time ; but it had taught a salutary and profitable lesson.

The Synod had begun badly ; instead of cementing the union between the different churches, as was its aim, it had very nearly created painful divisions. It had unfortunately been urged in the direction towards which it was already leaning. The Basutos are fond of laws and regulations, at any rate when they affect others. When they can legislate they willingly do so, frequently

without understanding the effects of the decisions which they have taken and which they would be the first to break if they affected them personally.

At its meeting of 1874, the Synod acted more prudently ; it busied itself more especially with plans of external mission work, further reference to which will be made later. Unfortunately, however, a precedent had been established ; it was practically impossible to alter things, and thus the Synod held at Leribe in 1876 tackled, without too much reflection, questions of discipline which were as complicated as they were delicate. That did much harm to the body itself, so much so that after the 1880—1881 war, when the Synod ceased to be called together, not a single person raised any objection. When it was re-established in 1894, it was on entirely new lines, but even then the churches did not view its revival without apprehension.

Evidently a start had been made too early ; or rather, the idea of having synods Similar to those of the churches of Europe had been brought forward prematurely. It would have been wiser to have educated the Synod to its requirements and duties before granting it all its rights. The missionaries did not realise that at the time.

The scholastic work of the Mission had also acquired considerable importance and expanded greatly at the period concerning which we are now writing. The first missionaries had not neglected it. We have already seen that the primary education of the Natives had been one of their chief cares from the very start. Schools had been started in all the stations and the missionaries or their wives managed them themselves and gave up a great

portion of their time to them. The schools at Beersheba were particularly flourishing and served as models for those of the other stations. But, after all, it was only the period of small beginnings.

From 1871 and 1872, the question of public education had become far more pressing. The Government gave it its consideration and advanced it as much as the missionaries themselves did. It desired that, like the Kaffirs of the Cape Colony, the Basutos should have schools as numerous and as well managed as could be. It did not wish to have its own schools ; in accordance with the system in vogue in most of the British colonies, it preferred subsidising the schools established by the missionaries, on condition, naturally, that these agreed to accept the official programme. With the common sense which characterises the Anglo-Saxon race, the Basutoland Administration fully realised that a Christian school was definitely of more value for the Basutos than one where they would have learned only English and arithmetic and been deprived of any moral or religious influence. For a savage people, Christianity will always remain the best educational means and the only power capable of uplifting it. Why then do away with the assistance which the Mission was quite prepared to offer, and why should the Mission refuse to collaborate with the Government in such a beautiful task, as long as it was expressly authorised to give to religion the place of honour in its schools ? Besides, the requirements necessary for a grant of subsidies from the Government were simple and only natural. In addition to reading and writing in Sesuto, a little English and arithmetic had to be taught; simple but sufficiently large

school buildings had to be provided, teaching had to be done for a certain number of hours (four hours per day) and the official inspector was to be permitted to visit the schools once or twice a year. The missionaries retained the full and unrestricted management of the schools and had the exclusive right to appoint as well as to dismiss the teachers, whereas the Administration undertook to pay either the whole or the greater part of the salaries.

That system, which is so simple and so practical, is the one still in existence in Basutoland to-day. The missionaries have never had occasion to regret having accepted it in 1872. It is due to it that our scholastic work has been able to expand to its fullest extent and that it has been possible to establish better equipped primary schools in all the stations and in almost all the out-stations. As a result of it, a large number of scholars of both sexes received at an early period an education which, although no doubt very elementary, yet answered to their requirements. In 1872 there were 2,069 scholars; in 1877 there were 2,604 and in 1880 there were 3,021. It was like a nursery from which the Church would derive much benefit. Bible instruction held an important place in all those schools.

Besides the primary schools, the Mission also had secondary schools, which were of necessity boarding establishments, since they were open to pupils coming from all the districts of Basutoland.

We have already seen how, in 1868, Rev. Mabille had started the Boys' Secondary School, even before the establishment of the British Administration and before there could have been any question of subsidies.

The intention was to fit the boys both for evangelists and for teachers. In 1869 it had been placed under the care of Rev. Dyke, who was later joined by Dr. Casalis. But after a few years, about 1875, it was realised that its scope should be limited to the training of teachers, more especially to satisfy the exigencies of the official syllabus, and it thus became a Normal School. In 1875 Dr. Casalis succeeded Rev. Dyke senior as head of the institution and in 1877 Rev. R. H. Dyke became his collaborator. The Normal School developed rapidly and ranked well among similar institutions in South Africa. Its candidates generally did well in the official examinations and a large number of them have obtained the official certificate for primary education. In 1878 the number of its scholars had reached 43 and it cost the Mission nothing but the stipend of the two missionaries who were at its head.

Not satisfied with having founded the Normal School, Rev. Mabille started a boarding school of the same kind in 1873 for younger pupils who intended entering the Normal School. Most of the schools in the country were not yet in a position at that time to reach the standard necessary for it. That Preparatory School, which in 1878 counted 58 pupils, rendered very great services for some years. But the progress made by the primary schools was found to render it useless in the course of time. (1) There was no longer any reason for its existence when the other schools were able to educate their scholars sufficiently to enable them to enter the Normal School direct. For that reason, therefore,

(1) An endeavour to re-start it later on, proved a failure owing to the same reason.

it was transformed in 1880 into a Bible School, which was destined to render the greatest services not only to our Mission, but also to many other South African Churches.

The Bible School practically formed itself. In 1875 already, a certain number of evangelist pupils, who could not follow all the lessons, had been admitted into the Normal School and a separate class had been formed for them. It was a Bible class which Rev. Mabille had more particularly under his charge. In 1877, or 1878, the Bible class left the Normal School, where it was out of place, and was attached to the Preparatory School. From then it became the favourite occupation of Rev. Mabille, who put his whole heart into it and spent his strength for its sake. Under his care it developed very rapidly. In 1878 it already numbered 20 pupils, most of them grown up men, among whom were a good number of Bapedis from the Transvaal and other Natives from the interior, in whom Rev. Mabille took a great interest. As the Mission developed, the Bible class became more and more important, until eventually it absorbed the whole Preparatory School.

It was only in 1882, however, on the return of Rev. Mabille from his voyage to Europe, that the Bible School took the form which it has kept to this day. In founding and developing it as he did, Rev. Mabille has endowed our Mission with one of its most necessary organs. Without it, it would have been impossible for the Mission to find a sufficient number of evangelists and even of teachers.

Doing for the young girls at Thaba-Bosigo what Rev. Mabille had begun at Morija for the young men,

Rev. Jousse founded the Girls' School there in 1871. It began in a small way with twelve pupils, but in 1879 it already numbered seventy. The main object of Rev. Jousse was to form Christian women who would have a good influence on their families and round about them. It was less a matter of giving them a good education than of developing their character, teaching them order, cleanliness, and home duties. Miss Miriam Cochet took charge of that institution and devoted very many years of her life to it.

A fourth boarding school of a different and more practical kind, and which answered to a want that had become more and more necessary, was established in 1878 under the name of the Industrial School. (1) It had become imperative, in the general interests of the country, to train good Basuto workmen, capable of earning their living and of thus contributing to the material and social development of the tribe.

It was Rev. Germond more than anyone else who pressed for the establishment of that new institution. He had begun at Thabana-Morena on his own responsibility, and without receiving any pecuniary help either from the Government or from the Mission, what he styled a manual school. He had started it on a simple and practical plan. But his numerous occupations did not allow him to devote enough time to it and after a few months he was compelled to give it up. He was, however, dermined to begin afresh on a different footing and in a way which would ensure its success, that which it had not been possible for him to carry on under unfavourable conditions. Thus in 1878, at his repeated re-

(1) That name was altered later into Technical School.

quests, Mr Preen was called away from Matatiele for the express purpose of founding the Mission Industrial School at Thabana-Morena.

His aptitudes fitted him particularly for that work, to which he gave his whole heart and the best part of his strength for very many years.

As, however, Thabana-Morena did not possess the practical advantages necessary for the proper working and development of that school, it was decided to look round for a more suitable spot. The intention was to place it in the centre of the country, between Thaba-Bosigo and Morija, and not too far from Maseru, the administrative capital of Basutoland. But unfortunately the Paramount Chief Letsie refused to cede the spot chosen for it to the Mission. He was jealous of the Mission's growing influence and was not sorry to put an obstacle in its way. Thereupon the chief magistrate of Basutoland, Colonel Griffith, offered the site of Quthing (to-day called Leloaleng) near Masitise, to the Conference. That was the spot where the Magistrate of the district had resided up to them. The Government was prepared to cede it to us together with the building on it. The Conference was bound to accept, for it was given to understand that in the event of its non-acceptance, it would be offered to another Mission Society.

In some respects the site was excellent ; there was plenty of room for the school, and a nice stream of water made possible the erection of a mill. It was however, as events proved, a bad choice ; but the missionaries cannot be blamed for it ; they had done all they could to establish the Industrial School at a more suitable spot in keeping with the requirements of the country. Situat-

ed too far from the centre of the country, and too distant from the other stations and from the villages of the magistrates, the Industrial School could not render to Basutoland all the services which it would have done. It did a great deal, however, in supplying the country with a considerable number of carpenters, masons, saddlers and shoemakers ; and it can be said without exaggeration that it has played a part of the first order in the social and industrial development of Basutoland.

With its numerous primary schools (which numbered over 80 in 1880), its Normal School, its Bible School, its Industrial School and its School for Young Girls, the Mission was now well equipped and could spread the benefits of education over the whole country. Thanks to the generous subsidies of the Colonial Government, its scholastic work imposed on it practically no financial sacrifice, for only the heads of the different institutions received payment out of the Mission funds. Ever since 1872 our Mission has been and still remains in the foremost rank for public education in Basutoland and leads in that as well as in the evangelization of the country.

But books were needed for all those schools and they were likewise needed for the Christians of our churches. That imposed yet another duty on our Mission, and it was not neglected. In 1859 Rev. Mabille re-started the Printing Works at Morija, and a few years later, in 1875, the printing press of the Society, which up to then had been at Masitise, was handed to him. That enabled him to do more and better work. During the whole of that period the Morija Printing Works laboured without ceasing for the Mission and for the country.

With the exception of the Book of Genesis and the

Psalms, which had both been published by Rev. Ellenberger at Masitise, all the books of the Old Testament were printed at Morija, so that in 1878 the whole Bible had been translated into Sesuto ; the New Testament was in one volume, of which the third revised edition was published in Paris in 1878, an the Old Testament was in separate booklets.

Then followed reading books for the schools, Geography books, Arithmetic books, and English books. Rev. Mabille also published the first Sesuto-English vocabulary in 1877, and in 1878 the first fairly complete grammer of the language of the country;one edition was in English and the other in Sesuto. Various other religious books and tracts, and a new historical catechism should also be mentioned. The Hymn Book (the Songs of Zion) also appeared either at Morija or in Europe in various editions, each new edition containing an additional number of new hymns, until eventually the first edition of that Hymn Book appeared at Morija, set to music in the tonic sol-fa notation. (1) Rev. Mabille had undertaken that big work and transcribed the tunes of all the hymns into that new notation himself. He also personally supervised the printing of it,thereby rendering a most valuable service to our churches. The following year he also printed, together with their tunes, a new book of hymns, either translated or imitated by Rev. Coillard from those of the American evangelist, Sankey. Those two books, amalgamated in 1881, con-

(1) In that notation the notes are indicated by letters and figures. That method, invented by Mr. Curwen, is much in use in England, and by its means remarkable results were obtained in the teaching of singing in four parts in Basutoland.

tain today 457 hymns and have reached the nineteenth edition. (2) About 150,000 copies have already been sold in Basutoland and in other parts of South Africa. The Printing Works and the Book Depôt at Morija were thus spreading the good name and influence of the French Mission far beyond the limits of Basutoland, and it is chiefly from that date that its influence radiated in the Free State, the Transvaal and much further.

The activities of the Mission, as described above during the 1871—1880 period, are all the more remarkable if one considers how restricted the number of the missionaries was during that time, and what tremendous efforts the work demanded. Those activities would seem to form a sufficiently complete record. And yet there was at the same time a whole side of the Mission's life of which we have not yet spoken, and which we cannot pass over in silence. We refer to the efforts made already in 1872 to found a Mission outside the boundaries of the country, which would be, so to say, a continuation of that of Basutoland, and which, in the minds of its promoters, should be carried on for the time being, chiefly by the Basutos themselves. It is an important and particularly honourable page in the history of the Mission.

At first sight it might appear strange and contradictory that the Mission should have conceived the idea of establishing a new work far beyond its boundaries, at a time when it was concentrating on Basutoland. In the minds of the missionaries, however, that plan was legitimate and natural, since the contemplated outside

(2) The twentieth edition is in the course of preparation.

Mission was to be a branch and a fruit of the Basutoland Church itself. It was meant to open up a field of activity for the energy of the Basuto Christians, and to be as much in their interests as in those of the heathens to whom the Gospel would be brought. It would be, it was argued, the best means of infusing life into the churches, for by placing new responsibilities on them, they would be made stronger and more enthusiastic. As was the case in Europe, the inside Mission could only gain by the establishment of an outside Mission. That thought was a very true one, and the efforts of the Christians of Basutoland have undoubtedly been a source of blessing to them.

Again Rev. Mabille was the originator of the movement. The thought of it had haunted him from his arrival in Basutoland and had never left him. Already in 1862 or 1863, he was thinking of a Mission to be carried on by the Basutos amont the Makololos of the Zambesi. He was also responsible to a large extent for the sending of Esaia Seele into the territory of the chief Mankopane in the north of the Transvaal in 1864. He had always taken a special interest in the Bapedis or Basutos of the Transvaal, many of whom came to Basutoland to study; and it was partly to assist them that he had inaugurated his Bible classes. He had succeeded in imbuing several of his colleagues and of his evangelists with his enthusiasm, so much so that in 1872 the question of a Mission in the north of the Transvaal had become a pressing and a practical one, the only thing that prevented its immediate realisation being the want of missionaries.

In 1873 a campaign of exploration into the country where it was intended to start that work was decided

upon. The Vaudoise Mission had just been established in Lausanne. It had sent to Basutoland, for a time at any rate, its first two missionaries, Revs. Creux and F. Berthoud. That accession to the Mission's forces made it possible to try the experiment, and Revs. Mabille and Berthoud left for the Transvaal. They were accompanied by several evangelists, among whom was Asser Sehahabane, one of the most remarkable evangelists whom Basutoland has ever produced, an orator of the first rank and a courageous pioneer whom no obstacle ever stopped. At that time the idea was to establish the Mission at the place of Sekukuni, the great chief of the Bapedis. But as he refused to receive our envoys, the expedition pushed through to the Spelonken in the Zoutpansberg district. It appeared that a Mission in keeping with the strength of the churches of Basutoland could be undertaken with success among the tribe of the Magwambas.

On their return, Revs. Mabille and Berthoud proposed to the Conference that a Mission should be founded either among the Magwambas of the Spelonken, or at the place of a chief called Moletse, whose tribe spoke a Sesuto dialect. But the Committee in Paris had no one to send to undertake the new work, where the presence of an European missionary was recognised as indispensable, and not one of the missionaries of Basutoland could be spared. The Vaudoise Mission then undertook to take charge of that work, and in 1875 Revs. Creux and Berthoud left Basutoland for their new field of labour, where they were to be assisted by the Basuto evangelists who had been left at the Spelonken when the Mabille expedition had returned.

Such was the beginning of the work of the Romande Mission (1) in Northern Transvaal. Although independent, from either the Basutoland Mission or the Committee in Paris, that Mission belongs to a small extent to ours, by its origin ; it is, so to say, a daughter of the Basutoland Mission, and the best relations have always existed between these two Missions, which are so similar in their methods and their personnel. Basutoland has had the privilege of training the first Magwamba evangelists and teachers, and for many years our brethren of that Mission entrusted the training of their first ministers to our Theological School.

When he returned to Basutoland, Rev. Mabille had left Asser and his companions behind. He had requested them to cross the Limpopo and to explore the country of the Banyais (now in Rhodesia) where it was hoped that a Mission work could be undertaken by the Basutos themselves without its being necessary to have a European missionary, as was the case in the Transvaal. This they did and they found a large population which was quite prepared to receive them. The Synod sitting at Morija in1874 agreed with great enthusiasm to found an outside Mission. An improvised collection brought 800 francs in a few moments. The impulse had been given and the letters of Asser and his companions contributed to a large extent to increase the interest of the churches, which subscribed fairly large sums. The Bo-Nyai Mission had been decided upon (2)

The party which was to found it was soon organised. It was able to leave in 1876, the very day after the Synod

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(1) To-day called Swiss Mission in South Africa.
(2) Bo-nyai is the Native name for the country of the Banyais, in the same way as Lesotho is that of the country of the Basotho.

at Leribe. It consisted mostly of Native evangelists. Rev. Dieterlen was to manage it and to place the evangelists in their new sphere of work. It would be decided later whether he would remain with them or whether he would return to Basutoland. The hostility of the Transvaal Boers, however, prevented the execution of that plan. On the 10th of May 1876 the Mission caravan was arrested by the Transvaal Police a short distance to the north of Pretoria. The four evangelists were put in prison, while Rev. Dieterlen remained free only owing to the generosity of a German missionary and of an employee of the Boer Government formerly in the service of the firm of Coninck, at Havre, who jointly stood bail for him for 7,600 francs. The evangelists were released a few days later, and they and Rev. Dieterlen were ordered to return to Basutoland immediately. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given by the Transvaal Government for its unjustified action. One thing is certain, that is that neither Rev. Dieterlen nor his companions had done anything which could have been construed as being in conflict with the laws of the country. The Boer Government, again hostile to the French Mission, refused it the right to pass through its territory and even objected to its establishing itself in a country over which it had nothing to say.

That unfortunate event increased the zeal of the churches instead of lessening it, and in April 1877,a new party left for the country of the Banyais. Rev. Dieterlen had in the meantime been appointed at Hermon, and Rev. Coillard took charge of the expedition. Hostility was no longer to be feared on the part of the Transvaal, as it had now been annexed by England. We shall not

deal here with that journey of exploration which eventually led Rev. Coillard from the country of the Banyais, first to Bulawayo and then to the Zambesi. In the same way as the expedition of Revs. Mabille and Berthoud to the Spelonken had culminated in the establishment of the Swiss Mission in the Transvaal, so also that of Rev. Coillard gave birth to the Zambesi Mission.

That result did not correspond with the intention of the missionaries and did not lead to the object which they had in view. They endeavoured, therefore, to stop Rev. Coillard when on his way to the Zambesi but in vain. They felt that, instead of a Mission which would be within the reach of the churches of Basutoland, which were themselves but weak as yet, they would have to face a work too heavy and too costly for them. A Mission right in Central Africa would undoubtedly be beyond their means.

In addition, times were about to change and circumstances to alter entirely. In 1880—1881 war was in sight and was about to impoverish Basutoland and to disorganise everything for many years. When, after a long stay in Europe, he again left in 1884 to definitely establish the Zambesi Mission, Rev. Coillard took with him two Basuto evangelists, but that Mission was not and could no longer be a Mission of the Basutoland churches. They had only a secondary interest in it, and various causes, concerning which we need say nothing here, were bound to, and did, little by little, make their collaboration less and less effective. Their efforts to obtain a new field of labour had, therefore, not succeeded.

That interesting episode in the history of the Basutoland Mission practically closed there in 1880. From that time there was never again any question of establishing a foreign Mission and at most a few efforts, rarely crowned with success, were made to interest the churches in the Zambesi Mission work.

To-day, unfortunately, the bonds that united the two Missions have relaxed considerably. But has the question of a missionary expansion really been abandoned ? Now that these churches are stronger and more numerous, will that question not spring up again at some time or other, in a different form? It is to be hoped. It would open up a source of new blessings and be a means of creating a revival for the Christians of Basutoland, who so easily become slack.

During that period, a new Church had found its way into Basutoland and was to be a means of complicating our work and of increasing our difficulties. In spite of all the friendly endeavours made either by the Conference or by the Committee to persuade its high dignitaries that we were entitled to look upon Basutoland as our field of labour, the Anglican Church insisted upon also coming in. Some might incline to the view that it is somewhat narrow-minded to regret the establishment in Basutoland of a Church which, like ours, preaches the Gospel and may thus be looked upon as an ally. But experience proves only too well that nothing is more dangerous in a heathen land than to show to its opponents the divisions in Christ's Church, and in the present case, it was particularly painful.

But in 1880, neither the Roman Catholics nor the Anglicans had acquired any real importance in Basuto-

land. Our Mission alone still represented Christianity in the eyes of the whole tribe ; and it had acquired a power which no one could any longer refuse to recognise. It was then in full growth, and had every right to hope that in a few more years the greater part of the nation would have been won over to the Gospel. Its adherents increased in number every year ; its schools flourished ; its religious literature had acquired much importance and the expeditions which it sent out showed its power of expansion.

V

The war of the guns and four years of anarchy (1880—1884)

It had been thought that under the British protectorate, security and peace were assured for ever for Basutoland and that the Mission would no longer witness the wars and disasters through which it had so frequently passed. But yet an unexpected storm was about to burst over it and to threaten it once more with destruction.

In 1877 South Africa had entered upon a period of troubles and struggles. The Kaffirs of the Colony had risen once more, but for the last time, as their power was then broken perhaps for ever. The Transvaal had been in the grip of a Native war which brought about its first annexation by England. At that time a new Governor had arrived at the Cape and was to endeavour to bring about the realisation of a plan dear to the Conservative Ministry, which was then in power, viz.,the Federation of South Africa under British rule. It was Sir Bartle Frere, the friend and protector of Livingstone, a distinguished philanthropist, who had acquired the reputation in India, of being a straightforward and capable administrator. He interested himself in the Native races, and had decided to better their lot. His desire was to put an end to the incessant wars which had so frequen-

tly prevented their evolution, and to bring into reality in South Africa the fine dream of *pax britannica.*

Unfortunately, the Native tribes were in possession of fire-arms, which they might feel tempted some day to use either against their own people or against the Whites. It was therefore thought that these should be taken away from them in order to remove all danger of a possible collision, and that, if they offered resistance, they would easily be compelled to submit. War was thus necessary in order to secure peace.

And thus it was that, after having annexed the Tansvaal without any bloodshed in 1877, Sir Bartle Frere sent his famous ultimatum to the Zulus in 1878. Cetywayo had to disband his army and have a British Resident. Virtually it was a declaration of war. The Zulu chief replied by destroying two English regiments at Isandhlwana ; and England had to make great efforts to bring about his submission in a campaign which is so well remembered in France, owing to its having cost the life of the Prince Imperial.

In the Transvaal the same policy was being followed, and the power of Sekukuni, chief of the Bapedis, was broken.

Native wars followed one another in rapid succession. Little by little they came nearer to Basutoland, and eventually penetrated the territory. Moorosi, chief of the Baphutis of the Quthing district, and a vassal of Letsie, disobeyed an order of the British Resident. A long campaign was necessary to subdue him ; it took place in 1879, and in order to save the large district of Quthing from being confiscated, the Basutos themselves were compelled to take up arms against Moorosi.

At the instigation of Sir Bartle Frere, and due to the influence of the prime minister (Mr. Sprigg), himself a philanthropist, the Cape Parliament had already passed a law, the "Peace Preservation Act", for the disarmament of the Natives. Under its provisions, all Natives had to give up their rifles, and none of them could possess one except by virtue of a special permit, which cost a great deal and was practically impossible to obtain. At first that law only applied to the Kaffirs of the Cape Colony, but it also made provision for its application to other territories, amongst others Basutoland, by a mere proclamation of the Governor. During the war against Moorosi, it had already been rumoured that disarmament was aimed at. The assurances of the chief Resident, Colonel Griffith, to the contrary, appeased the Basutos for a while, and it seemed impossible that a Government which had actually compelled them to join it against one of their own people, could dream of depriving them of the very arms which they were using at its command to further its cause. The question, however, was being seriously considered ; let us rather say that it had already been decided to disarm the Basutos. Sir Bartle Frere consulted Colonel Griffith and the French missionaries. Both advised him strongly not to disarm the Basutos and drew his attention to the risks he ran in persevering in that policy. The magistrates, the merchants and all those who knew the country were unanimous in their condemnation of such a policy. But both Mr. Sprigg and Sir Bartle Frere refused to give heed to them.

Mr. Sprigg visited Basutoland personally in 1879. At a large meeting held at Maseru, he endeavoured to persuade the Basutos that the step was being taken

solely in their interests ; that they were still children ; that guns in their hands were too dangerous a toy and that the Government was rendering them a real service in taking them away from them.

Public opinion unanimously refused to accept such advice. Besides, nothing had as yet been officially decided and there was hope that now that they were more enlightened on the subject, either the Ministry or the Cape Parliament would refrain from forcing upon the Natives a resolution which the latter condemned so loudly, and which, far from securing peace in the country, would possibly be the cause of a serious rebellion. The Basutos consequently decided to send a deputation to the Cape, consisting of several chiefs and accompanied by a missionary, Rev. I. Cochet, as interpreter, to plead their cause and enlighten the White people. But no notice of any sort was taken of that deputation and the Governor even refused to receive it officially.

Writing long after the event, and looking at it from a purely theoretical point of view, one may be permitted to wonder whether in disarming the Natives the Colonial Government was not simply doing its duty. But the feelings of the Basutos should have been taken into account, and the point seriously considered whether that policy, perhaps right in principle, was not dangerous, and whether persisting in it would not meet with formidable opposition.

It should also be borne in mind that the position of the Basutos was not the same as that of the other South African tribes. Unlike them, they had not been conquered by England ; they had given themselves to her

of their own free will, and had obeyed her orders faithfully ever since 1868, even when such were opposed to their feelings, as was the case with the war against Moorosi. Accustomed, as they had always been,to look upon the possession of assagais and fire-arms as the sign of their virility, they could not understand that any one could think of depriving them of them, and they considered such a measure as an undeserved degradation.

Besides, those very guns, the possession of which was disputed to them, had been sold to them by the Colonial Government itself; it was in order to be able to get them that they had consented to go and work either in the Kimberley diamond mines or on the construction of the railways. It was now desired to take them away from them without even giving them any compensation for them. That was in their eyes a want of good faith which incensed them.

Although they were Blacks, they could think for themselves and they wondered whether, having been disarmed,they would not run the risk of being deprived some day of their country, one of the granaries of South Africa. They were aware that a number of the settlers were casting longing and covetous looks on Basutoland. The story of the vineyard of Naboth was not unknown to them, and they had heard it said that, notwithstanding the promises and the assurances frequently and publicly made, Minister Sprigg intended annexing at least a portion of the district of Quthing to further the interests of the White people.

That explains the consternation which seized the whole tribe when it was learned that the Disarmament Act was to be applied to their country.

There were other reasons also, which made the Basutos dissatisfied. The chiefs were pained at seeing their authority ignored more and more and replaced by that of the Colonial magistrates. They wished, not unnaturally, to regain their former power. The new generation had not known the disasters of the years 1865—1868, and bore the foreign yoke with impatience; the patriotism of the Basutos made them yearn for a larger measure of independence. Certain proceedings of the Administration went against the grain of their legitimate pride. And in addition, the old war spirit, which had lain dormant for some years, had not disappeared and was beginning to wake up. Everything was therefore ready for an explosion.

The order of disarmament was eventually issued and was to be carried out on the 21st May 1880. The great majority of the Basutos were determined not to submit to it. Only a few chiefs sided with the Government ; chief among them was Jonathan, the eldest son of Molapo. That party was termed by the Colonial press as that of the "Loyalists". At the head of the National party, to which the Colonists gave the name of "Rebels", were Masopha, (third son of Moshesh), Lerotholi (heir presumptive of Letsie), and Joel (son of Molapo). All eyes were fixed on Letsie, the aged Paramount Chief of the country. He adopted throughout an attitude which he thought clever, but which was most deplorable ; whilst pretending, on the one hand, to obey the Government, he, on the other hand, incited his subjects to resistance. By such double-faced and crooked policy he was the means of turning that crisis into an exceedingly grave

one, and of adding to the war a still more nefarious one, viz. a civil war among the Basutos, and the results proved most disastrous. That is the most regrettable phase of the "War of the Guns", for it divided the Basutos into two inimical camps and gave rise to a civil hatred which has barely died out even to-day.

The first encounter took place on the 17th of July 1880, when Masopha attacked a petty Kaffir chief who had given up his arms, and took away his cattle near Cana. The "Rebellion" had thus begun. The "Loyalists" took refuge around the magistrate's places, which were hurriedly fortified, and where the rebels were not slow in attacking them. The whole country was upside down. Everywhere the passions of war were awakened and a feeling of hatred and bitterness against anything that was European spread from one end of Basutoland to the other. With an inconceivable negligence, Mr. Sprigg, who had made war inevitable, had nothing in readiness with which to carry it on. Weeks and months went past before the Colonial troops arrived, and when they did come, they were so few and so badly equipped that it was hardly possible for them to do anything but defend the residences and the villages of the magistracies.

If the crisis was serious for the whole nation, it was none the less so for the Mission. The missionaries faced an unprecedented situation; in the previous wars in 1852, 1858 and 1865, the matter was simple and its solution easy, for it was a matter of the tribe fighting against a common and foreign enemy, and although they remained neutral, the missionaries could not but sympathise with the tribe.

This time the problem was more complicated ; it was a rising of the Basutos against a legitimate authority, against the Government which they themselves had called and to which they had given themselves of their own free will ; and whatever sympathy they naturally felt for the Basutos, the missionaries could not forget their duty towards those who had saved the tribe and protected the Mission, but yet, on the other hand, they knew well enough that all the blame could not be attached to the Natives, against whom a manifest injustice had been committed.

Thus placed between two fires, their position was difficult and dangerous. They endeavoured as far as possible to make the Colonial Government realise the gravity of the mistake which it was making. They did so without fear, while remaining strictly within the limits of their rights and of their ministry. Their opinion, it will be remembered, had been expressly asked for ; and they knew that in giving it they were exposing themselves to be misjudged. Such was the case. Sir Bartle Frere and his defenders accused them of having encouraged the Basutos to rebel. That accusation, the echoes of which are still heard on occasions, is as absurd as it is unjust and ungenerous ; it is sheer calumny.

Far from inciting the Basutos to rebellion, the missionaries did all in their power to prevent it, and if any blame attaches to them, it is rather that they pronounced themselves too openly against resistance.

Rev. Mabille, whom the admirers of Sir Bartle Frere attacked more particularly, preached submission to law at all times and everywhere. He wrote over and

over again in his newspaper, the Leselinyana, that the duty of the Basutos was to obey the orders of the Government and to give up their guns, however unjust that measure might appear to them to be. But he had unfortunately told the powers that be what he himself thought of it, and that was never forgiven him.

The very correct attitude of the missionaries had been dictated to them by their Christian duty and by their very functions as ministers of the Gospel. It was so frank and so unmistakable, that it caused a disguised hostility against them for many months on the part of a portion of the tribe. The Christians themselves reproached them, for, strangely enough, and at the same time showing how general the movement was, most of the Christians found themselves among the rebels. Submission to the Act of Disarmament seemed to the missionaries to be the only means of saving the country. They were persuaded (although they were wrong, as future events showed) that the ruin of the Basutos was a certainty if they rose against the Cape Colony ; and they could not bring themselves to believe that the latter would not succeed in defeating them. And that is why they did their utmost to preserve peace, as much in the interests of the Natives as in obedience to their Christian duty. They did so to such an extent, that they were accused in certain quarters, equally unjustly, of taking the part of the Colonial Government; and at the beginning, in any case, the exasperation of the Basutos against the White people very nearly turned against them also. When once the war had begun, they did not hesitate as to which path to follow. Although they did not approve of the rising and said so frankly, they

remained at their respective posts in Basutoland and continued their work, even though all the other Europeans had left the country. That is perhaps a unique fact in the history of South African Missions. They had confidence in the Basutos and that confidence was not betrayed. Separated for many long months from the exterior world, without any communications with it, they never ceased to preach the Gospel of peace in a country in rebellion. That attitude was a blessing for all ; their presence in Basutoland made peace possible to a large extent. They were perhaps running certain risks in thus remaining exposed to the hazards of war, but they never had occasion to complain of any insults or any bad treatment, and their properties were fully respected.

We do not intend going into any details concerning a struggle which seemed to have no end. It was not marked by any important battle. After ten months the Colonial troops had hardly penetrated the country; they only occupied a very small portion of it. They really fought without enthusiasm; it was the time when the Transvaal was becoming agitated and the War of Independence was about to begin. The Colonial farmers, who sympathised with the Transvaal Boers, liked neither Sir Bartle Frere nor the Sprigg Ministry, and the difficulties with which the Colonial policy had to contend in connection with the rising of the Basutos did not displease them. England, which was governed at that time by a Liberal Cabinet, had made it known that she did not approve of the war and that she would allow the seizure of neither the cattle nor the country of the Basutos. And in South Africa, a Native war in which

there are no cattle to take and no farms to appropriate, will never be a popular one.

The Colonial Government had at last realised that the Basutos were not enemies to be despised and that they knew how to defend themselves ; and so, when at the beginning of 1881, Lerotholi appeared to be inclined to come to some arrangement, it took great care not to refuse to make a treaty. Sir Bartle Frere had been recalled ; the Sprigg Cabinet had fallen and had been replaced by a Ministry more favourable to the rights of the Natives. The new Governor, Sir H. Robinson, agreed to arbitrate between the Basutos and the Cape Colony. His finding, given in 1881, was accepted by both parties and peace was officially proclaimed. The Basutos had submitted, but on the conditions which they themselves had laid down and accepted. In fact, they had remained the victors. More than seventy-five million francs had been spent by the Cape Colony in a vain endeavour to force disarmament. Its prestige as well as its finances had become weaker.

Peace had been made, but more in theory than in reality. Rest was not returning. The Colonial troops had returned to their homes and a new Resident, Mr. Orpen (1) had been sent to Basutoland. But anarchy continued to reign. The finding of Sir H. Robinson could not be carried out although the chiefs had expressly agreed to it. In accordance with it, the Basutos had the right to retain their arms on payment of an annual tax of twenty-five francs per gun ; and they had also to return to the hated Loyalists the cattle which they

(1) Son-in-law of Rev. S. Rolland : one of the warmest friends of the Basutos and the Natives.

had taken from them. Personally Lerotholi was perhaps inclined to keep his promise. But how was he to bring the other chiefs to do so, especially Masopha, who was becoming more and more indisputably the chief of the national party ? Letsie's authority barely existed and he could not be relied upon. Both the Rebels and the Loyalists were ready and awaiting the first opportunity to come to grips.

The Rebels themselves were divided into two parties, that of Lerotholi, who had made peace with the Government, and that of Masopha, who aspired to become the great chief of the country and to succeed Letsie as soon as the latter disappeared from the scene. The Colonial Government, in its turn, considered itself bound to take the part of the Loyalists who had lost everything in assisting it, and to endeavour to obtain for them the compensations which had been promised. With all that, the country was in a constant state of agitation and complete peace was more distant than ever.

Rev. Mabille, who, feeling certain that matters would come right and that no war would take place, had left for Europe in the middle of the year 1880, was returning to Basutoland at that time (1882). On his return he had an interview with Sir H. Robinson at Cape Town and succeeded in convincing him of the necessity of making new concessions and of finally dropping the question of the guns.

Owing to the great personal influence which he had on Letsie and Lerotholi and to the general confidence which he inspired in Basutoland, he succeeded in smoothing over many difficulties. And thus, little by little, the situation, which at first seemed inextricable, began

to clear up. The new Ministers of the Colony were also anxious to do all they could ; everybody was tired of the matter and the general desire was to see it settled at all costs.

But there were still some eighteen months of trouble and difficulty to be faced before rest was re-established and the country came out of that state of anarchy. In 1883 civil war broke out again in full force in the district of Leribe, between Jonathan and Joel, the two inimical brothers. On that occasion Jonathan succeeded in gaining the upper hand. Finally, in December 1883, the Cape Colony, tired of so many troubles and unable to govern a people which no longer formally obeyed it, ceded Basutoland to the metropolitan Government.

The country thus became a direct protectorate of the British Crown. That was the best token of security for the future. That solution, the most desirable of all, was not, however, obtained without trouble, and at one time it seemed as if the Basutos were going to be left to themselves and that England would withdraw from the country. Had such been the case, it would have meant that after a few years of civil strife and of anarchy, war would have broken out again with the Orange Free State and Basutoland would have been definitely ruined.

At the time (1881) when the intervention of Sir H. Robinson put a n end to the war, the Mission found itself, like the rest of the country, in a state of semi-disorganisation. All the stations still existed, it is true, and not one of them had really suffered ; the religious work had been continued during the whole period, and

the preaching of the Gospel had never been interrupted. But the churches had been deeply disturbed by those long months of political crisis; it had not been possible to maintain discipline rigidly, and the minds were excited. It had been found necessary to close the schools practically everywhere, as the Colonial Treasury had discontinued the subsidies. Several out-stations had been destroyed. Camp life and constant contact with triumphant paganism had done much harm to many of the Christians. A heathen reaction had taken place and the number of renegades had increased considerably. The "Loyalists" in particular had acquired deplorable habits of intemperance during their long stay amid the Colonial troops. Brandy, which formerly was prohibited, was being introduced into the country, and the Government no longer even tried to prevent its importation. In several districts the chiefs had taken up an attitude frankly hostile to the Gospel; and the Christians as well as the heathens were divided into "Loyalists" and "Rebels".

It was at such a time, when the future was exceedingly dark, that the Mission had to bravely start its work afresh and tend the wounds of the Church. It was, it can readily be understood, a long and painful task, in which prudence and firmness had to be blended. The reorganisation was naturally more rapid or less so according to the state of the districts. At Leribe, where civil war existed permanently, it took some years to complete it. At other places progress was more rapid. At Morija the school work was reorganised fairly quickly, and the Bible School, the Normal School and the Printing Works started afresh already in 1882. The Industrial School of Quthing, which was situated in a district which was

spared almost entirely from the effects of the war, was also reopened. At Thaba-Bosigo, where Masopha continued to maintain an attitude distinctly hostile to the Government, it was not found possible to reopen the Girls' School. In addition, the future was so uncertain and new troubles were feared so much, that some of the missionaries hesitated to rebuild their churches or to reopen their schools. The Government began again in 1882 to grant subsidies for the schools; but the figure was far below that which prevailed before the war; and as it was generally believed that England would withdraw from Basutoland at an early date, those subsidies would naturally fall away. Such a state of painful uncertainty was enough to break the courage of the most hopeful. Notwithstanding all that, and in the midst of ever recurring difficulties, the work was gradually reconstructed, at least in its essential parts. It had no doubt diminished to a rather large extent, as appears from the statistics of 1883, which show a loss of about 900 Christians as compared with those of 1880. But with the help of God, in whom they trusted more than ever, the missionaries hoped to regain the lost ground before long, and they took a decisive step forward even before peace had been fully established; for in 1882 Rev. F.H. Krüger arrived at Morija with instructions to open a Theological School there. The Native pastorate, which had been contemplated for so long, was about to become an accomplished fact. As had happened formerly with the Normal School, the Theological School was also founded during a period of great trouble and difficulty and to a large extent through the same influences.

Rev. Krüger began his theological class at the end of 1882 with four pupils, who were all teachers or assistant teachers at Morija. It was not yet a complete school, but it was a tentative effort. The Conference had not yet decided what it would do with those new workers, and the question of the use to be made of Native ministers remained an open one.

Unfortunately the health of Rev. Krüger compelled him to return to Europe at the end of 1883, and thus the theological class had to be closed scarcely a year after it had begun. Its short existence had, however, not been without its uses. We wonder whether, if it had not been for the initiative of Revs. Mabille and Krüger in 1882, the Theological School would have become an accomplished fact in 1889. The question having once been brought to the fore, it was felt that something had to be done about it without delay.

On his return from Europe in 1882, Rev. Mabille brought with him the first Sesuto Bible books which had been printed and bound in one volume by the London Bible Society. That was a great and happy event for all our churches. The whole Bible was now at last obtainable by them. A new revised edition was published in 1898 and over 100,000 copies of it have already been sold. The New Testament also appeared in 1882 in a pocket edition with references. That also proved a great success. Since then several editions have followed one another without interruption and the number of copies sold in South Africa to this day can be put down at at least 250,000.

In 1882 our religious literature also became the richer by two books of Biblical stories, the one, written

by Rev. Coillard, from the Old Testament, and the other, by Rev. Mabille, from the New Testament. These two books had been published in Europe. A third one, being a translation or rather an adaptation in Sesuto of Bonnefon's "Handbook of Ecclesiastical History" appeared the same year at Morija. The Depôt of Sesuto books was developing more and more.

In spite of the somewhat chaotic state in which the Mission still found itself in 1883 and the uncertainty which still hovered over the future of the country, Rev. Boegner (the new sub-director of the Mission House) decided to make the tour of inspection in Basutoland which had been decided on long before. He was accompanied by Mrs. Boegner and Mr. G. Steinheil, a student in Theology. This was the first time that an official delegate of the Committee of Paris and of the Churches of France had visited Basutoland. That visit had been desired by the missionaries and by the Basutos for many years. Rev. Boegner was received by all, heathens as well as Christians, with real joy. His stay in Basutoland created another link between the Christians of France and those of the country. His presence was particularly opportune at a time when the missionaries and the Natives so much required encouragement. It was bound to give to the Mission work a new impulse and to lead it still further towards the object aimed at, namely the establishment of a Native church capable of living its own life and of seeing to its own requirements.

On the 22nd July 1883 the Basutoland Mission celebrated its fifty years Jubilee in the presence of a large gathering of Christians and of heathens. The presence of the future director of the Society gave to that solemnity

still more significance. In looking over the work accomplished during those fifty years by two generations of missionaries, one could not sufficiently praise God for all that He had allowed the Mission to do, notwithstanding the obstacles of all kinds which it had met with. Close to six thousand adult Christians, without counting those who had departed in the faith, thirteen Mission stations,seventy out-stations and a large number of scholars, those were the visible fruits of the labours and of the sufferings of the envoys of the Paris Society. If the situation at that time was precarious, if the ruins left by the war had not as yet all been rebuilt, the acts of deliverance of which the Mission had so often been the object were a token that the future would answer to the past and that in the years to come the Mission in Basutoland could rely upon the help of God as in the past.

THIRD PERIOD
The Church of Basutoland
(1883—1914)

I

The ecclesiastical evolution of the Mission (1883—1894)

The years that followed the War of the Guns, and the period of anarchy which was a consequence of it, are of great importance in the history of the Mission. They were the beginning of a new period in which the questions of ecclesiastical organisation and of the solidification of the work were going to take, with fresh intensity, the chief place in the preoccupations of the missionaries, and during which the experiences undergone would help to make them realise better the object in view and the means to be adopted in order to reach it. It was at that time that the Mission became increasingly a Church, the Church of Basutoland.

For some years already a new generation of missionaries bringing with them a somewhat different spirit and a way of their own of understanding things, had begun to appear and soon several new missionaries were to

swell their number. Gradually and insensibly the Mission was changing its views and saw new horizons opening up before it.

It was to some extent what had already taken place in 1860; and yet there was a big difference between the two movements, for in 1860 the first generation had really finished its task; its best representatives had either disappeared or effaced themselves, and the new generation had arrived in sufficient numbers to be strong enough to take the management of the Mission in hand from the very beginning; whereas in 1883, the greater number of the missionaries of the second generation were still at work as active and as strong as formerly, and they directed the affairs of the Mission for many years yet. Those who eventually succeeded them were arriving only one by one and thus their influence made itself felt less rapidly and less completely.

There is therefore, not such a distinct difference nor such a clearly marked line between the second and the third periods of our history as betwen the first and the second. Its evolution was much slower and was practically unfelt. And yet if we look somewhat closely into it, it does appear that there was a change, that a new spirit had come into Basutoland and that a new phase of development had begun. That was only natural, for the 1880—1883 crisis had considerably altered the conditions under which the Mission would henceforth have to work.

That period of twenty-five years can easily be divided into two almost equal parts, namely from 1883—1894, which latter year saw the death of Rev. Mabille

and the holding afresh of the Synods ; and from 1895—1908, the year of the Jubilee.

From a political point of view, the year1884 marks the beginning of a new order of things in the history of Basutoland. From that year the country was governed by the British Crown direct. The new Administration was bent on inaugurating a régime entirely different from the one which had just ended in such a miserable manner. Its desire was to govern without disagreement with the chiefs ; that is in reality, in keeping with the national feeling, of which the latter were then the authorised mouthpiece. The British Administration would thus limit itself to directing the general policy of the country, especially in its relations with other countries, and above all remain at peace with the outside world. It would interfere as little as possible in matters which only concerned the Basutos themselves.

The magistrates would no longer take the place of the chiefs, as was the case before ; the latter would again have the right to try their own people, the British Government only reserving the right to hear appeals and to pronounce the death sentence. In all important political questions, the British Resident would have to consult the chiefs and to decide together with them.

That meant, said the critics, who were numerous both within and without Basutoland, that Britain would expose herself to certain failure. How could Britain expect to govern by moral force alone, a country in which civil war was in an endemic state, and in which four years of anarchy had accustomed the chiefs and their subjects to no longer obey the law ? It is true that the new Government had no military forces; in fact it

was determined to do without them. It must be admitted that a Colonial administration has rarely faced such a difficult situation. The "Loyalists" and the "Rebels" were still in two opposite camps ; and the big chiefs were jealous of one another and full of intrigue the one against the other. A large portion of the tribe, with the chiefs Masopha and Ramaneella at its head, refused to recognise the British Protectorate. The aged Letsie had lost the greater part of his prestige ; his son Lerotholi, heir apparent, a man to be reckoned with, was subject to the jealousy not only of the "Loyalists", against whom he had fought, but also of many of those who had supported him during the war. His most dangerous adversary was his uncle Masopha, who was exceedingly popular in the whole country. In addition, the new Government had neither money, nor police, nor authority. The taxes were no longer being paid ; no one worried about observing the laws ; brandy inundated the country. Anarchy reigned everywhere at the very time when the Resident Commissioner was being officially installed at Maseru, and a new civil war had broken out between Joel and Jonathan. A few weeks later a still more serious crisis seemed on the point of taking place and of causing Masopha and Letsie's sons to come to grips.

But the British Government had wisely chosen a man exceptionally qualified to assume power under such conditions. Colonel (later Sir Marshall)Clarke showed himself from the first day to be equal to the task. By his invariably conciliatory attitude, by his firm determination not to interfere except when he could so do with every hope of success, by the indefatigable patience with which he stood an almost impossible and particularly

painful position for many long months, he was able to bring order and peace in the country again. Another man would have lost patience, would have asserted his authority and would have compromised the whole situation. But he awaited the right time ; a true *Cunctator*, he hurried nothing, did nothing with haste or impatiently; and when in 1892 he left Basutoland to follow a similar policy elsewhere, he handed over to his successor a pacified country in an excellent financial position and with a stable and much respected administration. All that had come about, so to say, of itself, without hurts, without noise, and so gradually that it had hardly been realised. Sir Marshall Clarke has a right to the sincere gratitude of the tribe and of our Mission for the work which he so admirably brought to finality.

Criticism of his policy was not wanting, but he continued on the road which he had mapped out, without taking notice of it, and complete success crowned his efforts. Even those who blamed him most, admit today that his policy was the best, the only good one, and that it saved Basutoland.

Thanks to his tact, his peaceful mind and his constant patience, the hatred between the Loyalists and the Rebels disappeared and little by little the moral unity of the tribe was reconstituted. To be fair to all it should be added that he was assisted in his work by the political sense of the Basutos, that of Lerotholi in particular, who had not been slow to realise that the very existence of Basutoland depended on the British Protectorate and on the loyalty with which it would be accepted. He did everything he could in support of the policy of the Resident Commissioner. During the last years of his fa-

ther's life his position was extremely difficult. Letsie seemed to delight in placing difficulties in his way and in setting traps for him. But when Letsie died in 1891, Lerotholi, who had become the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, governed the country wisely and firmly and he always worked hand in hand with the Resident Commissioner, Sir Godfrey Lagden, who succeeded Sir Marshall Clarke in 1892.

Sir Godfrey, on his side, realised that Lerotholi should be helped to regain the authority which Moshesh had possessed on the whole tribe, but which Letsie had never been able to exercise fully. For the policy followed by the Colonial Administration from 1872—1880, a policy which had consisted in dividing the country into three almost independent districts and thus breaking the power of the Paramount Chief, Sir Marshall Clarke had substituted a broader, more generous and no doubt wiser policy. He had seen that everyone could but gain by having the authority of one single great chief extending over the whole country. It was, however, only from 1898, when he finally broke the power of Masopha in a last civil war (approved of by the Government) that Lerotholi really became the undisputed chief of the whole of Basutoland in fact as well as by right.

The policy followed by England in the affairs of Basutoland is similar to that which the Mission was adopting more and more resolutely in ecclesiastical matters. In both cases the same ideal of autonomy and of the development of the Native forces and resources was being followed, and the end in view was almost identical. It is extremely interesting to note that without having come to an understanding, and each one in his own

sphere, the Government and the Mission followed the same road and endeavoured to arrive at a similar result by different means.

Never has the personnel of the Mission undergone so many changes as during the twelve years between 1882 and 1894. There were no fewer than fifteen arrivals and fourteen departures or deaths. This was something almost abnormal. Four of the new arrivals left the Mission only a few years after they had entered it, either for health or for other reasons. Those departures meant very serious losses for the Basutoland Mission work, and deprived the missionary corps, which up till then had been so compact, of its stability, to the detriment of the general progress of the work.

The older generation was disappearing rapidly: in 1880 Rev. Maitin, who had passed over the bulk of his work to Rev. Duvoisin for some years already, officially took his pension ; in 1885 Rev. Keck, of Mabolela, died ; in 1887 Mr. Maeder left the Siloe station and died a year later in the Cape Colony, after having faithfully spent over a half century in the service of the Mission ; two of the veterans of the second generation left Basutoland at about the same period, Rev. Jousse in 1882, to return to France for good, and Rev. Coillard in 1884, to found the Zambesi Mission, their departure leaving a great blank ; a few years later, death removed in quick succession three of the most prominent of the missionaries, those whom the Mission could spare the least, viz. Doctor E. Casalis and Rev. Duvoisin in 1891, and Rev. A. Mabille in 1894.

Between 1882 and 1894 fifteen new men were sent by the Committee to fill up the gaps. Revs. Daniel Keck,

F. H. Krüger and F. Christol arrived in 1882 ; Rev. Weitzecker in 1883 ; Rev. Jacottet in 1884 ; Rev. Bertschy in 1885 ; Revs. E. Mabille and L. Germond in 1886 ; Revs. Pascal and Jeanmairet in 1891 (the latter having come from the Zambesi, where his health did not permit him to remain any longer); Revs. L. Mabille, Christeller and Vollet also from the Zambesi, in 1892, and finally Mr E. Kruger in 1893.

Basutoland had never before received such reinforcements. They were less numerous, however, than it seems, since four of the new workers left the Mission a few years after their arrival as well as three of their colleagues, who had also spent only a few years in Basutoland : Revs. F. H. Kruger, Keck, and Weitzecker returned to France for reasons of health ; Rev. Dormoy also returned there in 1882, for family reasons, and was followed in 1882 by Rev. Christman, who had developed opinions incompatible with a ministry in Basutoland; whereas in 1894 Revs. I. Cochet and E. Mabille severed their connection with the Mission.

Those additional forces, nevertheless, made it possible to establish three new stations. In 1884 the Matatiele station, which had been disorganised and almost destroyed through the War of the Guns, was rebuilt on a new site. It was placed nearer the Malutis on the very borders of Basutoland, although still in Griqualand East. It was named Mafube and Rev. Cochet was its first missionary.

In 1886 the Sebapala station was established in the valley of a tributary of the Orange River, above Masitise. Rev. Bertschy was placed there a few months after his arrival in Basutoland. That was the first step taken

by the Mission to penetrate the Maluti Mountains, which, since the events of 1880—1881, were rapidly becoming populated. The Sebapala was at the gate of that new field of labour, and it was an excellent centre from which the evangelization of the higher Orange Valley could be undertaken. Mafube also offered similar advantages. In 1887 the Makeneng station was established at the repeated instances of Lerotholi, the eldest son of Letsie; it was naturally in the interests of the Mission that the place where the future Paramount Chief of the country resided should be occupied without delay. Rev. E. Mabille was placed in charge of that new post. It became necessary at a later date to alter its name to Likhoele, when, after the death of his father in 1892, Lerotholi had to leave his old village to reside near Morija, as Makeneng means at Lekena's (that is at Lerotholi's) and the name had then become an anomaly.

In 1889 Rev. A. Casalis founded at the place of Joel Molapo, the Qalo station which had been in contemplation for so many years. But it was already very late, for the population of that secluded district had become hardened in the worst form of paganism. For nearly twenty-five years that station made practically no progress and it was only owing to the faithful and patient ministry of its successive heads that it eventually also soared. The very year that, by founding Qalo, our Mission at last occupied all he portions of the low country and completed the net of its stations, the only one which it still had in the Orange Free State made its disappearance. At the death of Rev. Keck senior in 1885, it had virtually been decided to abandon the

Mabolela station. As a matter of fact, such had already taken place in 1870, for it was not morally possible to keep a post, the importance of which had always been small and could not but become still smaller, and where the mission work had of necessity an aspect rather different from that in Basutoland. The presence of Rev. Daniel Keck, who remained at Mabolela for some years, helped to bring about the transition. When he left for France for good in 1889, Mabolela ceased to be reckoned as one of our stations. The few congregations which we still had in the Orange Free State (Bethulie, Smithfield, Ladybrand etc.) had already been, or were about to be passed over to the Dutch Church, which was in a better position than we were, to attend to them. The Mission was now entirely centred in Basutoland and in Griqualand East, and was firmly decided never to go outside of those boundaries. This was the logical outcome of the policy which had been followed since 1869.

Including the three which had been recently established, the Mission had fifteen stations managed by European missionaries in 1890 viz., taking them from north to south, Qalo, Leribe, Cana, Berea, Thaba-Bosigo, Morija, Likhoele, Hermon, Thabana-Morena, Siloe, Bethesda (alias Maphutseng), Masitise, Sebapala and (in Griqualand East) Mafube and Paballong. It would, however, be more correct to count only fourteen, for Siloe officially still formed part of the parish of Thabana-Morena, and became shortly afterwards the residence of a Native minister.

In seeing the Mission thus establishing posts, and re-opening, or rather definitely starting the Theolo-

gical School in 1887, thus preparing for a Native pastorate, and in considering the rapid establishment of more and more out-stations, the number of which rose from 69 to 141 (that is more than doubled itself) between 1884 and 1894, it might be concluded that all went well in the country and that the Mission could now go forward with ease. But such was not the case ; on the contrary! And it can confidently be said that rarely has such progress been made under conditions apparently so unfavourable. The state of anarchy into which the country had been thrown by the War of the Guns had not come to a sudden end ; years had to pass before the political situation became normal and the economic position of the country righted itself. The fact that Rev. Weitzecker had only been able to re-establish two out of the eight Leribe out-stations in 1885, is but one of many proofs of it. The difficulties which stood in the way of the progress of the work can easily be realised.

For many years, in fact for the whole period under review, one of the heaviest crosses which the missionaries had to carry was the sorrow occasioned to them by financial worries. It is difficult in our time to realise this. Only those who had to bear the brunt know how much moral fatigue and bitterness was thereby added to a task already sufficiently crushing and how heavy their responsibilities were. It was a struggle from day to day throughout the country and more particularly in certain districts. It was a question of maintaining and continuing the work, paying the evangelists and the teachers, putting up new church buildings, repairing the old ones, establishing out-stations ; all that without funds. The Committee, except in a few cases, could not assist

the churches of Basutoland. The periodical deficit which it had to face and the new works it had to undertake, did not allow it to spend more money in Basutoland. It is difficult to understand how the missionaries managed under such circumstances; and how they were able not only to maintain, but even to extend their work to such a degree, in spite of the fact that the collections had been continually on the decrease up to 1889, and that the school subsidies had been reduced so considerably, at any rate during the first years. All this would be worth narrating in full. Suffice it to say, however, that they have thereby given a remarkable example of patience and of faith. Some friends in Europe and elsewhere, to whom they have always felt exceedingly grateful, made it possible in many cases for them to fulfil the obligations which they had taken upon themselves personally, and to pay the debts which they had incurred. God extricated them from the difficulties into which their love for the work had placed them. We may be permitted to state that it was neither fair nor normal that this should have been so, and that the Mission should never have allowed its missionaries to bear such a heavy burden. As far as they are concerned, they cannot be blamed for having accepted the situation, however imprudently they may have done so. It is to that devotion alone that the fine development that took place during those ten years can be ascribed. During the period which preceded the War of the Guns, that is from 1872 to 1880, the Church collections had increased in a most remarkable manner. In 1880 they had brought in as much as 35,000 francs. The economic situation was then excel-

lent; the Kimberley diamond mines offered very remunerative work to thousands of Basutos and the grain which they cultivated fetched a high price. But the War of the Guns and the anarchy which followed changed everything. The general situation in South Africa was bad from an economic and commercial point of view, and it righted itself but slowly. as the Johannesburg gold mines developed.

To that should be added the droughts, which in Basutoland recur periodically, bringing famine with them, a commerce almost ruined and the very low price obtained for grain in the few good years, (a bag of maize of which the normal value was 12 francs before the war, was selling sometimes at only three or four francs). The collections had decreased everywhere, and many of the Christians had but little inclination now to make any contributions, as they themselves had become poor. In 1883 the collections brought in only 16.500 francs. It is true that in 1884 they rose to 25,700 francs and that in 1885 they produced as much as the fine sum of 30,000 francs; but, owing to the reasons we have just mentioned, and whose effect was beginning to be felt fully, they came down to 18.000 francs in 1886, 16,000 francs in 1887 and 1888, and were only 20,000 francs in 1889. From that time they had a tendency to rise; in 1894 they came up to 40,800 francs. But the number of Christians had increased considerably; it was two and a half times larger than in 1880. The work had also more than doubled, and thus if the collections reached the same total as in 1880, it was no progress, in fact, it was a step backwards. The era of financial difficulties was not over yet. The financial troubles were rendered even

greater by the complete withdrawal, at the end of 1883, of the school subsidies, which in 1880 represented a sum of 80,000 francs, approximately three fifths of which was allocated to the primary schools. The new Government had no revenue as yet ; the taxes were collected with great difficulty, and there could thus be no question of a subsidy for schools. That was a great loss for the Mission. A number of teachers found themselves without any salary from one day to another. It was impossible to pay them out of the Church collections, since these had become so small and did not even suffice for the payment of the evangelists and other ecclesiastical expenses. What was to be done ? To close the schools and to deprive so many children of the very elementary education which they were receiving would have been a veritable disaster and a backward step all along the line. Most of the teachers expressed the desire to remain at their posts, some without pay, some with two thirds of their salary, some with half, etc. It was also found necessary to reduce the pay of the evangelists considerably in order to be able to assist the teachers. It is evident that such drastic measures could only be temporary, for, had they lasted long, that painful position would have become impossible for all. One cannot but admire the disinterestedness with which so many of the teachers and of the evangelists accepted and bore these hardships. They deserve very great praise on that score.

When the Basutos gradually began to pay their taxes again, the Resident Commissioner found it possible, at the beginning of 1885, to grant small subsidies to our schools once more. At first they only represented

one third of what the Mission used to receive in 1880. The following year they were slightly increased. Although far from sufficient to cover our needs, they were a great boon. But as the Government could not reckon at once on a fixed revenue, it would not agree to make the subsidies permanent. The missionaries lived, therefore, in uncertainty from day to day and their faith was severely put to the test.

That precarious situation did not prevent them, however, from reopening their old schools and founding new ones. In 1883 there were barely sixty, whereas in 1894 the statistics showed their number at 132. All these schools were not on the same footing as far as subsidies went ; but the very fact that the majority of them were subsidised, made it possible for the missionaries to keep the others going as best they could. The number of scholars was increasing rapidly. In 1884 there were 2,180 children in the schools ; in 1888 there were 4,560 and in 1892 there were 7,869.

Notwithstanding the difficult times, the want of money and the hostility of certain chiefs, the missionaries and their churches were founding many new out-stations. Doors were opening little by little everywhere, and it was imperative to get in without delay, lest these doors should close again or others should be before us. In 1884 there were only 69 out-stations ; in 1888 there were 94 ; in 1891 there were 118 and in 1894 there were 141. It might be questioned whether the pace was not perhaps too great and whether all those out-stations were really necessary. Subsequent events showed to what degree they were necessary.

At that time the population of Basutoland was in-

creasing in an extraordinary manner ; from 139,000 in 1875 it had increased, according to the official census, to 218,000 in 1891. Not only was it increasing, but it was spreading over a territory far greater than before the War of the Guns. Of the three regions of which Basutoland consists, namely, the plain, the high plateaus and the mountains (the Malutis), the plain alone, representing one third at most of the area of the country, was inhabited before 1880. It was estimated at that time that the work of evangelization would be assured if about a hundred out-stations could be established. But since the war, the high plateaus which run along the Malutis from Morija to Leribe, had also become populated ; then followed the valleys and gorges of the Maluti mountains, nearly up to the sources of the Orange river and its tributaries. Inhabitants were thus invading a large territory, up till then a desert, which the Mission in its turn should take possession of. That was the main reason that compelled the missionaries to establish new out-stations every year. We shall touch on that point again later on. The effort begun in 1884 or 1885 to win over to the Gospel those who peopled the Malutis, is one of the landmarks of the period of which we are now writing.

But financial difficulties were not the only ones with which the Mission had to contend ; as we have already stated, the unsettled political situation also placed obstacles in its way. The hatred between chief and chief and district and district often put the Mission in an awkward position and interfered with its activities. For instance, for many years it was impossible even to think of placing an evangelist or a teacher from Jona-

than's district in that of Joel, and in many places the political preoccupations, the civil quarrels and the want of security prevented any religious progress. The thoughts of the people were elsewhere. Certain chiefs, amongst whom were Jonathan and Joel, had taken up an attitude decidedly hostile to the Mission. Others, like Masopha, who had more respect for the Gospel, either by tradition or perhaps owing to a vestige of their former religious convictions,yet openly favoured paganism. Almost all of them had old grievances against the Mission, sometimes perhaps with a certain amount of reason. They bore it a grudge for having seemed to side somewhat too much with the Colonial Government between 1872 and 1880. But the real reason was the revival of nationalism, which, in Basutoland, implies a return to the old heathen customs of the tribe.

Since, as a consequence of the war, the chiefs had again become masters of the situation, they did not scruple to make the Mission feel it. But the conciliatory attitude of the missionaries succeeded in nearly every case in gradually bringing them back to better feelings.

Of all the chiefs, Lerotholi always remained in favour of our work and has rendered it great services on occasions. With him that attitude was a family tradition ; the missionaries of Moshesh were part of the heritage which had been passed over to him. He knew to what extent they had helped his people and, either through gratitude or in his own interests, he desired to be on the best terms with them and even at times to publicly show them deference and respect. And, besides, Rev. Mabille

had a marked influence over him as he had had over his father Letsie.

But at the period under review, the attitude of the chiefs was far from conciliatory, and Letsie himself was hostile to us. Their opposition was chiefly directed against certain of the disciplinary rules of the Church. Amongst others, they refused to agree to that forbidding the Christians to marry by payment of cattle, which, to their way of thinking, gave a severe blow to their social state.

In 1888, as a result of a divorce asked for by a Christian woman whose husband was a polygamist, Letsie invited the missionaries to a "*pitso*", or national assembly, at which, he said, the validity of Christian marriages, that is, marriages without payment of cattle, would be formally recognised. But it was a trap. Catholic priests openly favoured marriages by payment of cattle. All the great chiefs, Jonathan, Masopha and Letsie himself, endeavoured to compel the missionaries to give way on that point. Fortunately, the determined attitude of the missionaries who were present, and some of the Basuto Christians, carried the day ; matters remained as they were, and from that time the validity of Christian marriages ceased to be contested.

That "*pitso*", however, certainly contributed to give to the Roman Catholics an influence and a prestige which they had never had before, and they began, from that time, to develop their work to an unprecedented degree. Before those events, they had added three new posts, at Molapo's, at Masopha's and in the vicinity of Thabana-Morena, to their three original stations. But from now on they became more enterprising and pene-

trated everywhere. Notwithstanding the failure that attended their attempts at evangelization by Natives, they gained a considerable number of adherents, among whom were several wives of chiefs.

The same applies to the Anglicans since the War of the Guns. They had gained the two chief wives of Letsie as converts, established an out-station in the village of the Paramount Chief himself and founded a station a few miles from Morija. The French Mission was thus no longer the only one to exercise a religious influence over the Basutos; and it could expect to meet with an opposition which would at times be painful, but which could not stem the progress of the Gospel of Christ. The facts are there to prove it.

Still, the religious work was progressing in spite of all those obstacles. The Mission was extending and was establishing stations, and out-stations, and the number of Christians was increasing in an unprecedented manner. Since 1884, conversions had increased and interest in the Gospel had begun afresh; statistics for that year show 4,424 communicants and 1,562 catechumens. In 1885 there were 4,988 communicants and 1,548 catechumens, a net gain of about 1,000 adult Christians. But the movement was about to show even better results. In 1887 and 1888, a fine revival, which began at Morija and continued at Thaba-Bosigo,spread throughout Basutoland, and all the stations received a share of its attendant blessings. A greater number of heathens became converted; and, be it said with joy, in the majority of those cases, the conversions were permanent and the new Christians ranked among those who could be most relied upon. If the revival was not

as intense during the years which followed, yet individual conversions were more numerous still. The figures obtained from the statistics clearly show it. In 1887 there were 7,770 adult Christians ; in 1894 there were 13,733. Thus in the space of eleven years, the Church had nearly doubled its numbers in spite of the difficulties, of the obstacles and of the dangers with which it had had to contend. A decision, the consequences of which were to have far-reaching effects, had been taken in 1885 ; for in October of that year, the Conference, realising that in order to provide for the ever increasing needs of the mission work it was necessary to train new collaborators from among the Basutos themselves,had decided to reopen the Theological School as early as possible.

On the 2nd of June 1887, that school was re-started at Morija with three pupils, namely Job Moteane, Carlisle Motebang, and John Mohapeloa, under the direction of Rev. H. Dieterlen. This time it was not a timid attempt as had been the case in 1882 ; most of the old objections against a Native pastorate had disappeared and the missionaries were determined to bring the matter to fruition.

To make more sure of success, it had been decided to pick the pupils as far as possible, from among those of the teachers of the Mission who, through their intellectual gifts, their Christian character and their faithful services, appeared to be more specially fitted for the ministry. Two of them, Job Moteane and C. Motebang, answered to all those conditions. The third, J. Mohapeloa, had been taken straight from the Normal School benches, an experiment which it was useful to make.

When these candidates had completed their three years of study, Mohapeloa was considered still too young and too immature to enter the Mission work and he was sent to Lovedale for two years to become more efficient in the English language and to complete his training. It was decided that the other two should work for a year or two under the direction of experienced missionaries and that at the expiration of that period, it would be considered whether they were worthy of being ordained. J. Moteane was thus placed at Morija under Rev. Mabille, and C. Motebang at Thaba-Bosigo under Rev. Jacottet.

On the 2nd of August 1891, it was considered that C. Motebang had proved his worth sufficiently and he was ordained at Thaba-Bosigo. He was the first Mosuto to become in full a minister of religion. Job Moteane's turn came on the 6th of September of the same year, at Morija. The Mission of Basutoland, slow and conservative, had waited fifty-eight years before establishing the Native pastorate.

It was probably right in not being in too great a hurry, for it was thus able to profit by the experiments made by other Societies and to avoid the dangers into which those others had sometimes fallen. In any case, it has never had cause to regret having taken the step. On the contrary, and one wonders how it would have managed, if, at the time when it was most required, the Mission had not had at its disposal the valiant phalanx of Native ministers without whom it would have been impossible to carry on the work.

The Mission of Basutoland thus had its first two Native ministers as from September 1891. The question

of what work to entrust to them had to be elucidated before it could be decided what place the Conference could give them alongside of the European missionaries, and what their exact relations with these should be, for it was essential above all to make sure of their capabilities and to put them in position to give of their best.

The Conference had decided, in theory, to allocate to them, in the large missionary districts, parishes proportionate to their abilities. They would there fulfil all the duties of their ministry under the direction of a European missionary, on whom they would be dependent to a certain extent. That is what was done in 1892 with J. Mohapeloa, who was placed at the head of the Letsunyane church, a new parish that had been established within the large Morija district and of which it was a dependency, indirectly at any rate, for a long time.

An entirely new field of labour had opened up for the other two ministers. For some years already, the missionaries had given careful thought to the needs of the large population which had established itself in the Maluti mountains, especially in the valley of the upper Orange river. It was impossible to allow all those people to remain any longer without religious aid. A petty Christian chief, Tsepe, was clamouring for an evangelist and Letsie, who had long opposed their request, had now at last granted to the missionaries the right to establish some stations in those regions. It was out of the question to put evangelists there ; it would not have been possible to keep an eye on them. On the other hand, it would not have been possible for a European mis-

sionary to take up his abode in those distant parts, so far from Basutoland proper, and which could only be reached through exceedingly awkward paths after a journey on horseback lasting several days.

Besides that, the chiefs would have resented White people residing in the mountains. That field was therefore clearly suitable for the new ministers. Job Moteane was consequently placed at the chief Tlhakanelo's in 1892 ; there he founded the station of Sehonghong. A few months later, in 1893, C. Motebang established that of Molumong at the chief Rafolatsane's, two days' march further to the north.

The work in the Malutis had thus begun and the Mission had extended its activities to a part of the country where the Gospel had not yet penetrated. The generosity of a Society of English Christians, which gathered funds for that work in England, relieved the Conference of the worry of the question of finance. The Cape General Mission also helped us greatly for that part of our work, in any case at the outset. To-day it does not contribute to the same extent, but the general funds suffice for the salaries of the ministers and of the evangelists in the Malutis.

In addition to the stations at the head of which were European missionaries, three stations had been founded with Native ministers in charge of them. That brought the number of parishes to eighteen. The use, in fact the necessity, of the Native pastorate had been clearly demonstrated, even the most sceptical had to admit it. Satisfied with the good results obtained, the Conference reopened the Theological School with five pupils, immediately on the return of Rev. H. Dieterlen, from furlough.

The question still remained to be decided as to what status to assign to the Native ministers; a delicate and thorny problem, upon which depended the future of the pastorate itself. Here again, experience was the only thing that could guide the Mission to a satisfactory solution. Meanwhile, it was resolved to admit the first two Native ministers to a portion at least of the sittings of the Conference. That was but a temporary measure which could not last long before causing friction and difficulties.

The Mission had thought a long time already as we have previously stated, of devising means whereby a more solid organisation could be brought about, which would give more unity and strength to the Mission's activities and would unite more closely the various churches of which it was composed. The inconveniences of the existing system were obvious to all and everyone felt the need of a change. It was a question of abandoning the semi-congregationalism which had prevailed too long already.

In 1872 it was thought that a remedy had been found in importing the synodal system in its entirety into Basutoland. But the Synod, as it was then understood, had not rendered the services which had been expected of it. It had left such mixed feelings that its very name inspired fear, and yet it was impossible to remain any longer in *status quo*. The existence of the Native pastorate made the finding of a solution more and more urgent. It was imperative that a body should be created where the latter would find a place and where the Native element, of which it would be the natural leader, would take its share of responsibility in the

general progress of the Church. The Conference, consisting solely of European missionaries, realised that it could no longer continue to direct and to administer everything ; that it was necessary to respond to certain aspirations which were making themselves visible among the congregations, to grant to the Natives the share which they rightly claimed and to educate the churches with a view to an autonomy which was still far distant, but yet desirable.

Taking everything into consideration, the Synod appeared to be the only possible solution. But the experience gained between 1872 and 1879 should be turned to good account and the Synod be given a form more appropriate to the needs of the country and to the spirit of the Basutos. These did not understand the parliamentary régime, and it would thus be necessary to avoid anything which in any way resembled it. A purely Native synod was proposed, to which the churches would send their delegates and of which the Native ministers would be members by right. But that assembly would only be consultative. It would deliberate over questions which would be submitted to it by the Conference, which would fix the agenda of same ; the decisions taken therein would be sent back to the Conference, which would either accept or reject them. Three members of the Conference would *ex officio* attend the sittings of the Synod, but they would take as little part as possible in the discussions, merely contenting themselves with seeing that everything passed off in an orderly manner.

If that proposition, which was brilliantly put forward and supported by some excellent arguments, had been accepted, it could easily have brought the Mission

into very great difficulties, for there could be nothing so dangerous as the right of veto thus granted to the Conference. The Synod, consisting purely of Natives, would have deliberated in public and passed important decisions which the Conference, consisting purely of Europeans, could have negatived after discussing them behind closed doors. It would probably have introduced into our Mission the racial question, which up till then had been unknown to it, and brought the Native and the White people in conflict.

Eventually in 1894 the Conference adopted a simpler and probably wiser proposition when it was decided to re-introduce the old Synod but on a somewhat different basis. Both the missionaries and the Native ministers would be members of that body by right, but the missionaries would not vote separately as was formerly the case. The Conference would prepare the agenda of the Synod and would carefully eliminate all questions which might be too delicate or might endanger the peaceful relations between the two races ; the decisions taken would be sent to the Consistory, would come back to the Conference, and would become final only after having been passed by the following Synod. That system had great advantages and made it impossible to rush measures through without mature consideration

Clearly, considered from that point of view, the Synod was no longer a real Synod and could not be the directing body of the Church. It was hoped, however, that its functions could gradually be increased and that experience would make it possible to find in it the central body of which the need was so pressing.

These hopes proved an illusion, as experience showed. The Synod, a useful, in fact a very useful body, as a living testimony of the unity of the Church in Basutoland, is not in a position even to-day, to lead and to direct the Church, and many years will yet have to pass before it can even attempt to do so. In our next chapter we shall show that it was in another and different direction that our Mission succeeded in finding the body which it needed as a safeguard for the unity of our work and the progress of the Church.

Before coming to a final decision concerning the Synod, the Conference had busied itself with a more practical and perhaps more important question, that of finally settling the financial position of the churches by establishing a Central Chest. The idea had prevailed for some years already, but neither its practicability nor the manner in which it should be established had as yet been seriously considered. Here again the existence of the Native pastorate made it incumbent on the Conference to find a satisfactory solution without further delay. The Basuto ministers, who were dependent upon the Church as a whole and not on a local parish, had to receive their salaries from the Church of Basutoland. Now the latter had no funds at its disposal and it was impossible to continue to pay those men out of the moneys which friends in Scotland or in England sent us from time to time for the work on the out-stations. It was thus the duty of Basutoland itself to defray those expenses.

The position of the local churches was becoming increasingly difficult each year. Each one of them paid, or had to pay, the salaries of all the evangelists which it

employed. This resulted in abnormal inequalities : the parishes which had the greatest number of members and consequently received the largest contributions, could increase the number of their out-stations without much difficulty. Most of the parishes so situated were in the centre of the country.

It followed thus that, through force of circumstances, out-stations were numerous and the population relatively well cared for spiritually in a large part of Basutoland, whereas in other parts, like on the borders of the country, especially in the north, where the heathen population was more dense and where there was greater need for the creation of new centres of evangelization, the parishes, too poor because too weak, were not in a position to establish the necessary out-stations. Certain parishes had hardly any at all ; others, rich in Christians, but situated in a district comparatively small, could easily have a sufficient number of them without it being necessary for their members to suffer any real sacrifices. A continuation of that system meant that a great part of the country could not be evangelized.

That state of affairs caused other no less serious inconveniences. In some of the parishes, the evangelists received but paltry salaries, or only a portion of them could be paid to them, whereas in others, which were richer and better able to manage their affairs, the evangelists drew their whole salaries every year. The inevitable result was that serious dissatisfaction arose. In 1893 a Commission consisting of five members brought forward a scheme which was carried unanimously by the Conference of 1894, notwithstanding the real and serious sacrifices which it imposed upon certain parishes.

That scheme was based on a simple and practical plan : each parish had to pay into the Central Chest an amount based *pro rata* on the number of its communicant members. Originally that sum was three francs ten centimes per member ; later it was brought to 3.75 francs. The Central Chest then paid to each parish the full salary of each one of its evangelists who was on an out-station recognised by the Conference. The salaries of the Native ministers were likewise paid by that Chest. In the scheme adopted, the salaries had also been graded and they were thus the same in all the parishes. The scheme also provided that, since the creation of new out-stations would impose new obligations on the Central Chest, the consent of the Conference would be required in every case before any out-station could be established.

The establishment of the Central Chest has been of great benefit for the whole Mission. From that time the financial situation improved and the difficulties which we mentioned previously as well as the heavy responsibilities which weighed on so many of the missionaries, came to an end. Those who entered the Mission after 1894 have not known those difficulties. The Central Chest functioned well from the very start, and experience has justified its existence and shown how firm the foundations are on which it rests. We must add, however, that its success has been largely due to the assistance which has been given to it yearly by Christian friends in Scotland, England and America.

The Mission of Basutoland has a certain right to appeal to such for their assistance, since it labours on British territory. The work of evangelization which falls on it is also too great for the Church of Basutoland

to be able to carry its whole weight alone. That Church represents as yet only a very small minority of the tribe and it brings in the greater part of the monies payed into the Central Chest, contributions from outside being only a comparatively small amount

The great increase which has taken place in the amount brought in by the collections since 1895 (the year of its establishment) is likewise due to the establishment of the Central Chest. The reasons for this are easy to understand ; but we cannot touch upon them at this stage. From 34,510 francs in 1895, those collections had increased to the fine sum of 110,506 in 1907.

As can be seen from the preceding pages, the distinctive trait of the period under review, especially as from 1890, is the organisation of the work as a whole. The Native pastorate, the Synod, the Central Chest and most of the important Church bodies were created during those few years. In the following years all that would be necessary would be to bring about modifications to assure their smooth functioning and to complete them wherever they might be found to be deficient.

During the same period the secondary schools of the Mission had made very rapid progress. The Bible School, which had up to sixty pupils, was able to provide the Mission work with the evangelists which it needed, to say nothing of those, almost as numerous, trained by it for the Swiss Mission or for other churches in South Africa. The Normal School was also developing. In 1890 Rev. Dyke, who had succeeded Dr. Casalis, found useful helpers in the persons of Messrs. Roberts and Goring and of Miss Aline Mabille. It had also been possible to reopen the Young Girls' School at

Thaba-Bosigo in 1887, with twelve pupils, under the direction of Miss Miriam Cochet, with whom were associated the Misses Eugénie Keck, Lydie Lautré and Elisabeth Jacot.

The Industrial School of Leloaleng had erected a fine mill in 1888, from which that spot had received its name (Leloaleng means: near the mill). It continued to render excellent services to the whole of Basutoland. From 1892 Mr E. Kruger assisted Mr. Preen in the work there.

Those eleven years, as the previous pages testify, have been among the finest and the most fruitful in the history of the Mission. They mark simultaneously the continuation of the work of the second generation and the beginning of a new development. The Mission was becoming more completely organised, more homogeneous, more united, and was giving to the Native element a larger share of responsibility. It was well on the way to becoming the Church of Basutoland.

We arrive now at the time when, worn out by their long labours and by the trials which they had gone through, some of the best missionaries of the second generation were nearing the moment when they would rejoin those who had gone before them, at the throne of God. The first of them to depart this world was Rev. Duvoisin, a man concerning whom only good can be spoken, who died in 1891. Besides the beneficial remembrance of a striking personality and of an almost perfect Christian, he left a beautiful commentary on St. Luke's Gospel, which has already reached its third edition. A short time later, Dr. Casalis, to whom so

many missionary families are so much indebted, died in Europe where he had gone in search of health.

Lastly, the 20th May 1894 witnessed the death of Rev. A. Mabille, the strong man, the indefatigable pioneer, the real leader of the Mission since 1860. He was unable to attend the sittings of the new Synod, the re-establishment of which he had so much desired. But he had the joy, before his demise, of at last seeing the Native pastorate established and the evangelization of the Malutis begun with zeal. He died in the midst of his work, after a short illness. Minister of the largest parish in Basutoland, head of the Bible School, of the Printing Works, and of the Book Depôt, to say nothing of his lectures, of his enormous correspondence and of the duties which his particular position in the country and with the chiefs imposed upon him, he was literally crushed under the weight of a task that grew greater every year. His death was a national calamity ; the Basutos mourned his loss as if he had been one of them and the Mission in losing him was as if left without a head.

He holds a place of the first rank in the history of the Mission. He was the originator of nearly every good thing that had been done since 1860. The Normal School, the Preparatory School, the Printing Works, the Book Depôt, are all due to his personal initiative, and those are doubtless the most useful and the most important branches of our actual work. He it was who founded the first out-stations and employed the first evangelists. He believed in them while others were still sceptical. He it was also who suggested the Native pastorate as early as 1864, too soon, perhaps ; but he believed

in it, he urged it and he saw its realisation before he died. He had had visions from the very first days of his activity, of seeing the Basutos bring the promises of the Gospel to their Zambesi and Transvaal brothers. He did everything in his power to make that dream a reality ; in fact, it is to a large extent to him that the Swiss Mission and the Zambesi Mission owe their existence.

If he is not one of the actual pioneers of the Basutoland Mission, since he only arrived in 1860, yet in all other respects he must be counted as one of its founders. That Mission is his work as much as that of Rolland, Arbousset and Casalis. He continued their work in their spirit and in their faith, and he is one of those who gave it the most vigorous impulse and who created all that is best and most durable in it.

II

Towards autonomy (1894—1908)

The political situation in Basutoland had become almost normal during the years which we have just reviewed. The civil wars had practically ceased, not to begin again. During the period which we are now going to consider, we shall find only one, viz. that which definitely put an end to the power of Masopha in 1898, and made Lerotholi in reality as well as by right, the Paramount and undisputed chief of the whole of Basutoland. Nor was it a civil war like the others, since it had been authorised by the Government ; as a matter of fact, it was at the express request of the Government that Lerotholi had taken up arms to compel Masopha to submit to the law.

Henceforth there would only be one Chief in Basutoland, recognised and accepted by all. The full benefit and importance of that fact were fully realised when the great Anglo-Boer war broke out in 1899, a war which threw the whole of South Africa into a state of turmoil for three full years. At one time it was feared that Basutoland, situated as it was in the very centre of that vast field of conflict, would be dragged into the war ; and the question presented itself whether the Basutos would not perhaps make use of the occasion to avenge themselves on the Boers of the Free State for

the blows which the latter had given them from 1865 to 1868 ; or whether they would not perhaps rather endeavour, as many thought that they would do, to make common cause with the Free Staters in order to regain their independence, forgetful of all that they owed to England. They were influenced from various sides ; and the civil hatred, which had not yet completely disappeared, was an element which might have caused an explosion from one moment to another and seriously complicated matters. Masopha had died, perhaps fortunately, on the eve of the hostilities. One source of danger had thus been eliminated. Lerotholi's political sense was too sharp for him not to realise all that the circumstances demanded of him. He knew that only an unshakable loyalty to the British power could save his country, and he did all he could to compel his people to remain quiet and to obey unhesitatingly the orders of the Resident Commissioner. The Government of the Protectorate was no less anxious to keep the Basutos outside of a struggle which did not concern them directly. That is what made it possible for Basutoland to pass through the storm without suffering. While every territory in South Africa became, the one after the other, the scene of the war, Basutoland alone remained outside its pale. It was like an islet in the midst of agitated seas. The isolated attempt made by the chief Joel Molapo to make common cause with the Free State was of no importance and in no way disturbed the peace of the country.

The final result of the war was to secure the whole of South Africa for the British Crown. The position of Basutoland was thus altered, since it was now surround-

ed by British territories. But for the time being it made no difference. The Administration continued to govern it, as before, in the sole interests, of the Basutos themselves. Internal peace was bound to be more secure; for the Basutos realised that the British power was now absolutely uncontested all round them, and even the most restless saw how powerless they were to alter things. They perceived that their anxiety concerning their own preservation should induce them to join hands with those who governed them. And since England was determined to protect their rights and to retain for them the possession of their country, the future could safely be looked upon as secure.

That entirely new political situation explains why the death of Lerotholi in 1905 brought about no complications in the affairs of the country, and how his son, Letsie II, was able to succeed him as Paramount Chief of Basutoland, without any difficulty.

A few years before, things would no doubt have been very different. That peaceful transfer of power also showed that the pacification of the tribe was an accomplished fact, at any rate in a wide sense, and that public order reigned supreme. All this augured well for the future.

Anxious to bring Basutoland gradually into the path of fresh progress, while at the same time maintaining order and peace, the Resident Commissioner Mr. H. C. Sloley, (soon afterwards known as Sir Herbert Sloley), established in 1908 a Higher Council of Basutoland, (generally known under the name of the National Council of the Basutos), which met annually at Maseru. There the chiefs sat side by side with a certain

number of counsellors chosen among themselves, while others were the nominees of the Resident Commissioner. The great questions of the country were debated there. It was the first attempt, made under rather peculiar circumstances, at establishing a régime which was like the shapeless embryo of a parliamentary system. For the time being that Council exercised only a purely consultative power. Before its decisions could be carried out, they had to obtain the sanction of the Paramount Chief of the country and also and especially, that of the British High Commissioner in South Africa. The idea was probably that if it showed itself capable of carrying out its functions, the National Council would gradually acquire greater importance.

It was there and there alone, in fact, that the aspirations of the tribe could manifest themselves. The power of the chiefs, which was still too absolute in the majority of cases, was necessarily subject to certain restrictions in the Council. Henceforth the nation would also have some say in matters, and, if it had not as yet obtained the right to shape its own destiny, yet it would not now be completely without a voice. The progress was undeniable, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the Government that made it possible.

The existence of that National Council may perhaps one day help to solve the delicate question which the Union of South African Colonies is bound sooner or later to compel Basutoland to face.

If during the years concerning which we are writing at present, the political situation in Basutoland has been so satisfactory, the same cannot be said, at least for a portion of that time, of its economic situation.

Since 1891 the locusts had again made their appearance in the country, and for some years did much damage. In 1896 and 1897 rinderpest found its way into Basutoland and caused the death of at least three quarters of the cattle in a few months. At the same time, persistent droughts destroyed the crops and famine existed practically everywhere. In 1901 and 1902 a fresh outbreak of the bovine pest took place; after the war, another disease carried away fully half of the horses, while a violent epidemic of typhoid fever was responsible for an exceptionally heavy death rate among the inhabitants.

It is strange that these combined causes did not do more harm to the country than was actually the case. It recovered rapidly from all those disasters. The Anglo-Boer War itself added a great deal to the prosperity of the inhabitants of Basutoland, who gained much by it, especially on account of the large sale of horses and of cattle occasioned thereby. Basutoland gained a share of what its neighbours lost; and its young people had found, for many years already, very remunerative work outside its limits, thereby making money flow into the country. Its population did not cease to increase, and even attained almost excessive proportions. The official census of 1891 recorded 218,000 Native inhabitants in the country, while that of 1904 recorded 348,000, that is a net gain of 130,000 souls in thirteen years in spite of a large emigration. If to those figures are added the 20,000 Basutos who then worked in Johannesburg, Kimberley and elsewhere, the real population of the country could safely be estimated at 370,000 in 1904. In 1908 it was probably 400,000.

It can be said that in 1894, after the death of Rev. Mabille, which so closely followed that of Rev. Duvoisin and of Dr. E. Casalis, the second missionary generation had almost disappeared. The only two who still remained were Rev. P. Germond, who returned to Europe in 1898, and Rev. D. F. Ellenberger, who remained at his post until 1905.

A missionary younger than these two had already retired on pension ; that was Mr. Preen, who, tired and ill, returned to France in 1896. He had, however, been able to hand the Industrial School over to a young man who held special qualifications for that task, namely Mr. Edgard Krüger. The latter was, however, unfortunately snatched away in 1898 by a deplorable accident. His demise was a serious loss.

To fill up these gaps as well as those referred to at the end of the preceding chapter, the Committee had fortunately been in a position to send a few missionaries ; unfortunately too few. These were Rev. Lorriaux in 1898, Rev. S. Duby in 1899, Rev. P. Ramseyer and Mr Verdier (of the Zambesi Mission) in 1902 and 1903, Rev. G. Baltzer in 1904 and Rev. B. Moreillon in 1906; only six, whereas so many more were required. Perhaps we should add the names of Messrs. Martin, Reid Labarthe and Dornan ; but these had been engaged for special work and did not form part of the missionary corps proper. During that period, especially during the latter years of it, the Mission found itself facing the same difficulties as had so frequently retarded its progress during the past, viz. the want of men. The want of missionaries has always been the misfortune of the Mission in Basutoland, as so often happens in other cases ;

and it was only during the 1882-1894 period that it was not felt so acutely.

At the end of 1894 the awkward position in which the Mission work was placed by the death of Rev. A. Mabille, and the simultaneous departure of Revs. I. Cochet and E. Mabille, compelled the Conference to take very important steps.

It was found necessary to remove Rev. H. Dieterlen from the Theological School at the risk of compromising the future of the five pupils who were then being trained, and perhaps even the Native pastorate itself. He was placed at Leribe, where the position demanded the presence of an experienced missionary. It was also deemed necessary to send Rev. P. Germond to Mafube, and to remove his son, Rev. L. Germond, from Siloe, to take his father's place at Thabana-Morena. The Siloe station and the Theological School were thus left in a precarious state. That school was then transferred provisionally to Thaba-Bosigo under the direction of Rev. Jacottet ; but it was a poor solution to the difficulty. Siloe remained without a missionary for the time being. Rev. L. Mabille took his father's place at Morija ; and Rev. A. Casalis was put in charge of the Bible School, of the Book Depôt and of the Printing Works.

The Synod, reconstituted on new lines by a resolution of the Hermon Conference in April 1894, held a sitting in October of the same year at Morija under the presidency of Rev. Dieterlen. That sitting proved a great success ; everything passed off well and in a spirit of perfect harmony. The bad impression left by the old Synods had disappeared. The Central Chest, the organisation and the working of which were explained to the

delegates of the churches, was approved, in fact acclaimed by all. In 1896 a new session of the Synod at Bethesda clearly showed that the Synod had already taken its place, still small but very useful, in the life of the Church.

During that interval, the second lot of Theological students had finished their studies. In April 1896 the Conference regulated matters concerning the Native pastorate and took into its service the five candidates whom the school had just released. Like their predecessors, they were not to be ordained until they had undergone a probationary period. These new candidates were E. Segoete, N. Mpiti, B. Sekokotoana, F. Matlanyane and E. Motsamai. Three of them were placed on stations which were temporarily vacant, viz. Hermon, Qalo, and Berea, while the fourth, B. Sekokotoana, was placed in charge of the parish of Siloe, which it had been decided to entrust to a Native minister. The fifth, E. Motsamai had not as yet been given a fixed post, for his health was shattered and necessitated a complete rest for some months at least.

As long as the Mission had only counted two Native ministers, it could afford, without inconvenience, to leave the exact position of those ministers in the Conference of missionaries in an undefined state. But now that there were eight Native ministers, it became necessary to define their position and to give them the place to which they were entitled in the Church. The experiment made in admitting the first two to some of the sittings of the Conference had not turned out too well, and it was desirable to find some other solution to the difficulty. On the other hand, it was clear that their

position in the Synod was much too vague. They were so to say lost amongst the delegates of the churches. Besides that, the Synod was not and could not for a long time be the directing hand of the Church, and at the same time the Conference of missionaries fully realised that it could no longer manage such an extensive work by itself.

It was thus necessary that another wheel should be added. The Mission found it in the creation of the *Seboka*, the establishment of which was decided upon in a Conference extraordinary held at Morija in October 1898. Strange to say, that new body, which was destined to render such great services in the future, and to give a great stimulus to the autonomy of the Church in Basutoland had been neither foreseen nor prepared by anyone. It was created, as it were, on the spur of the moment. The sitting, lasting only a few hours, at which its establishment was unanimously decided upon, caused our Mission to take a gigantic step forward.

That was the turning point which, without its being realised at the time, was to bring about almost a complete change in the state of affairs. *It was at that moment that the Mission gave birth to the Church of Basutoland.* The Native element was destined to take an increasingly important place in that body until eventually it would preponderate in numbers.

The *Seboka* (a Sesuto word meaning assembly) is the name that designates the meetings of the European missionaries and the Native ministers. That new mixed Conference (as it was called) took the place of the old missionary Conference in all ecclesiastical questions proper. The latter now dealt only with matters pertain-

ing to the European personnel,such as transfers, salaries, leave etc, and their relations with the Paris Committee, budget affairs and the management of the secondary or higher schools. All the rest, that is everything concerning the Church proper, its discipline, its laws, its finances, the establishment of new parishes and of new out-stations, the placing or replacing of Native ministers, the discipline to which they should be subjected, the ordination of the candidates, and the admission of new pupils to the Theological School came within the province of the *Seboka*. Everything concerning the primary schools of the Mission and financial matters relating to them also came within its domain. That mixed Conference was thus the guiding hand of the Church.

In the *Seboka* the European missionaries and the Basuto ministers had absolutely the same rights, and as all discussions took place in Sesuto, the Native ministers even had some advantage over their White colleagues. The European Conference had wisely decided not to reserve to itself any right of veto. It realised, and rightly, that the best policy is always that of confidence in others. But to obviate certain possible dangers and to guard against a surprise vote, which might perhaps one day suddenly alter the very basis of the constitution of the Church, it had been decided that the *Seboka* should not have the right to alter certain specified matters, such as those connected with its own constitution, or the Central Chest or the Synod or the Church, except with a two-thirds majority. That guarantee seemed quite sufficient. In case the European Conference should opine that the *Seboka* had exceeded its rights, it could ask for the intervention of the Mission Committee in Paris. It is most

improbable that it will ever be necessary to have recourse to such a process. The complete harmony which has prevailed between the Blacks and the Whites has up to now been one of the characteristics of its activities, for there has never been even a semblance of a colour conflict, a fact so rare in South Africa that it is well worth mentioning. We may be permitted to see in it a proof that the constitution of the Church of Basutoland is really the one which suits it best.

From afar and at first sight, the ecclesiastical organisation must seem complicated ; Conference, Seboka, Synod, that is, three heads for one body, whereas one should suffice. But it must be borne in mind that the Mission, or the Church, was still in the process of development, and that during the transitory period out of which it had not yet emerged, the old organs could not safely be done away with before the new ones were thoroughly fit to replace them entirely. It was thus necessary that the Conference should subsist, for many years yet, side by side with the *Seboka*. In fact, the Conference will only cease to exist when the day arrives, which is still very far off, when the Mission itself will have given way entirely to the Church, that is, probably, only when there will no longer be any European missionaries in Basutoland. Meanwhile, its importance will gradually diminish as that of the mixed Conference increases and it will end by busying itself only with matters concerning the missionaries personally. The latter will always continue to exercise a great influence in the *Seboka* ; and the more disinterested they are and the broader their views remain, the happier the Native ministers will be to allow themselves to be led and directed by them.

It is less easy to foresee to-day what the relations between the *Seboka* and the Synod will be in the future. The Synod cannot even to-day undertake the management of the Church. It cannot busy itself with any degree of usefulness with the complicated questions which crop up every day, nor regulate the delicate matters which spring from such a large concern. It is too numerous and composed of elements which are ill-prepared for that task. The sessions of 1899 at Thaba-Bosigo, of 1902 at Morija and of 1905 at Hermon proved conclusively that it is still a very imperfect instrument. In the session held at Morija in 1908 an attempt was made, with success, to use the Synod to exercise a truly religious influence on the whole Church. In that direction it may do much good while at the same time imparting to the Church a feeling of its strength and unity, and urging it into greater spiritual life and Christian activity.

As against it, the mixed Conference has shown at each of its sessions how useful and necessary its activities are. It is that body which has been instrumental in giving to the Mission as a whole the unity which it needed and in welding the churches of which it is composed into one organic and compact whole, the Church of Basutoland.

This it was able to do for the reason that it contained enough Native elements to enable these to exercise a considerable influence on the trend of affairs, and yet not sufficient for them to be able to weaken that of the European missionaries.

Further, owing to the training which they had received, to the education which the very responsibi-

lity which rested on them had given them, and the seriousness of their character, the Native ministers were able to understand the questions at issue and to comprehend their real importance. They did not attach too much importance, as Natives too often do, to insignificant details. In a body relatively restricted, discussions are easier and the Basuto ministers could adapt themselves without much difficulty to a parliamentary or synodal life. The mixed Conference has in that respect proved to be a marvellously educative body.

By establishing the *Seboka*, the Mission had at last fixed the place which the Native pastorate was to take in its midst, and created the directing body of the Church. The time had now arrived for the ordination of the candidates whose names we have already mentioned. Four of them, that is E. Segoete, B. Sekokotoana, N. Mpiti and F. Matlanyane were ordained during the course of the year 1899. That enabled the Mission to create two new parishes, viz. that of Koeneng, between Cana and Leribe, and that of Siloe. E. Segoete was entrusted with the foundation of the former, and B. Sekokotoana was placed at the head of the second. The following year (1900), two more parishes with Native ministers were established. N. Mpiti was placed in charge of that of Maseru. That spot was particularly important, since it was the administrative capital of the country. F. Matlanyane was deputed to establish the Tebellong station on the Upper Orange below Sehonghong (a station later known under the name of Tsoelike, to which spot it was transferred). The establishment of that new post brought the number of Mission stations

in that mountainous region to three. The Malutis were coming more and more under its influence.

In 1901, the ordination of E. Motsamai made possible the establishment of the parish of Kolo, between Morija and Hermon, which had been decided upon long before. J. Mohapeloa became its first minister and E. Motsamai took his place at Letsunyane.

Basutoland thus possessed in 1901, eight stations managed by Native ministers in addition to the fourteen managed by the French missionaries, in all twenty-two parishes.

Certain reasons, chiefly financial, influenced the Conference not to re-open the Theological School for some years. It had been closed in 1896 at the time of Rev. Jacottet's departure on leave; it was re-opened only in 1902, with five new pupils, having thus been closed for six full years. The fact that its head was at the same time the minister of one of the largest parishes in the country was exceedingly inconvenient. The arrival of Rev. Baltzer in 1904 made it possible to relieve Rev. Jacottet of a share of his work. In 1906 the courses had been completed and the *Seboka* admitted the candidates prepared by the school.

One of them, J. Ntsasa, had already been admitted to the pastorate in June 1904. His age, his long service and his character allowed of an exception to the rule being made in his case, and he was ordained and placed at Siloe. Rev. B. Sekokotoana was entrusted with the task of establishing the parish of Phamong at the chief Griffith's, (the second son of Lerotholi) on the right bank of the Orange River, opposite the Seba-

pala. That was the fourth Native parish in the Upper Orange valley.

In 1906 the other four candidates, A. Buti, M. Moletsane, Joel Mohapeloa and S. Moeletsi also entered the service of the Church and were ordained in 1907 and 1908. This allowed of the establishment of four new stations, viz. that of Popa, at the place of the chief Maama, in the district of Thaba-Bosigo ; that of Matelile, at the place of the chief Seeiso, between Morija and Thabana-Morena ; that of Mafeteng, one of the most important magistracies in the country, and that of Peka, on the Caledon River, to the west of Cana.

The Church of Basutoland thus had in 1908, twenty-seven parishes, thirteen of which were under Native ministers and the other fourteen under European missionaries.

The future increase in the number of Native ministers will mean the foundation of new parishes and also that stations managed by Native ministers will eventually be more numerous than those attended to by European missionaries. That normal development must drive the Mission more and more towards autonomy. The envoys of the Paris Committee will thus become like the general staff of an army ; the bulk of the work will no longer be directly in their hands ; but their importance, far from being diminished, will become all the greater. In 1907 a new step towards autonomy was taken by the transfer of the Theological School to Morija, that institution thereby becoming a more permanent organ of the Mission and of the Church. The establishment of that new institution was made possible by a legacy and some generous gifts. Its head, now relieved of the worries of the

management of a parish, was able to devote all his time and his energies to the instruction of the pupils of the school. It was reopened in 1907 with seven pupils, of whom four were from Basutoland and three from the Transvaal and Delagoa Bay. The latter had been entrusted to us by the Swiss Mission, which, in its turn, had just decided to adopt the Native pastorate system.

Not only does this period show a firmer cementing of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Mission and an increased Native pastorate ; but it is also characterised by a real progress in all other directions. The establishment of the Central Chest had caused a considerable increase in the sums brought in by the collections, so much so that in 1907 they had reached the sum of 110,506 francs and the financial position was practically certain to be and remain fairly normal. In that way and assisted also by gifts from outside, the Church was able not only to provide for the needs of the out-stations and of the Native pastorate, and to support the Theological School which since 1902 had depended entirely on it, (except for the salary of its head), but also to increase the salaries of the evangelists as from 1902.

In 1907, at the request of the missionaries at the Zambesi, the Basutoland Conference sent a delegation consisting of two of its members to that country. As a result of that visit, the Church of Basutoland agreed to the principle of again collaborating with the Zambesi Mission by sending Basuto evangelists to Barotseland. We shall make reference to the results of that venture in a subsequent chapter.

During the whole of that period the work connected with the schools remained paramount in the minds

of the missionaries. The Government was able to grant considerable subsidies year after year. In 1907 those subsidies amounted to 178,000 francs. The Mission was thus in a position either to establish new schools or to raise the standard of education and to employ better qualified teachers. The school inspectors who occasionally inspected the schools in Basutoland, assisted the missionaries by their advice and their experience. They have always reported most favourably on the work done. The syllabus adopted in 1904 and the establishment of a written examination in all the schools of the Mission effectively contributed to give to our school system a unity which doubled its value. And at a time when, by an almost incomprehensible want of common sense, the Department of Public Education at the Cape was neglecting the study and the use of the Native language in the schools of that Colony, our Mission succeeded in maintaining for it in its schools, a portion, at any rate, of the place which it deserved. During the course of those few years the primary schools increased greatly in number. There were 132 in 1894, and 233 in 1908. In 1894, the number of pupils attending them was 6,837, and in 1908 it was 10,776, (a decrease from the number of 12,436 reached in 1906).

In 1905 and 1906 the High Commissioner of South Africa, Lord Selborne, sent Mr. E. B. Sargant, one of the most competent men on the subject, to Basutoland to report on public education in that country, and, if he considered it necessary, to reorganise it. That report, which appeared in 1906, highly praised the work of the French Mission in that direction. It is true that he criticised some of its methods, but most of his criticism was

directed against the syllabus forced on it by the Education Department of the Cape, and most of the improvements which he proposed were those which the Mission had always asked for. A feeling prevailed in certain quarters that religious instruction should be discontinued in the schools, but Mr. Sargant realised that, on the contrary, a large place should be reserved for it. The first effect which his visit produced was a fairly large increase in the official grants made to the schools of the various Mission Societies. A permanent inspector, or rather a Director of Public Education, was appointed in 1907 and that led to the establishment, in accordance with the advice of Mr. Sargant, of the Board of Advice which functions to-day, and on which delegates of the three principal Missions labouring among the Basutos sit, in addition to those of the Government and of the Paramount Chief.

During that period the secondary schools developed rapidly and notwithstanding the many serious difficulties which stood in the way of progress, the number of pupils attending the Normal School reached 140, many of whom succeeded in obtaining the official primary education certificate.

The Bible School had been established by Rev. Mabille and managed by him up to the time of his death. He gave all the Bible lessons himself while his daughters helped him in the other subjects. Two months before his death, the Conference had decided to give him an assistant in the person of Rev. A. Casalis. The latter, who succeeded him in 1894, managed that school with the same spirit as its founder and kept up the good name that it had acquired in Basutoland as well as outside it. In

1906,when Rev. Casalis returned to Europe, Rev. S. Duby was appointed to succeed him. It is impossible to exaggerate the services which the Bible School has rendered in training such good evangelists, either for the Church of Basutoland or for other South African Missions. It is one of the pillars of the work. The Girls' School, founded at Thaba-Bosigo by Rev. Jousse in 1872, and which had been closed in 1880 at the time of the War of the Guns, had only been reopened in 1887, as stated above. But the spot which it occupied was not suitable; it was not large enough to allow of its expansion, and the want of water was a very great drawback for an institution of that kind. In consequence, the Conference decided in 1900 to transfer it to Thabana-Morena. The money collected by its manager, Rev. Jacottet, during the period of his leave in Europe (1896—1898), made it possible to erect a portion of the necessary buildings; the Government granted a special subsidy, and the Committee did the rest.

In 1901 the school was begun on the new site. Miss E. Jacot, who had succeeded Miss M. Cochet as its principal, returned to Europe in 1901. Mrs. Goy took her place for three years. Miss de la Perelle succeeded her in 1905, and had one White and one Native assistant. In 1908 the school numbered some fifty pupils.

At Leloaleng, the Industrial School had been blessed with a principal thoroughly well fitted for his work in the person of Mr. E. Krüger, who had succeeded Mr. Preen in 1895. Had Mr. Krüger lived longer, he would undoubtedly have made of that school one of the best of its kind in South Africa. His tragic death in 1898, was a great misfortune. Rev. Bertschy was called upon to

replace him, temporarily it was thought. But that temporary appointment lasted till 1906. Mr Verdier was then placed in charge of that school and remained at its head since then. The establishment of a Government Industrial School at Maseru did not in any way detract from the importance of ours. There is room for several schools of that kind in a country of the size of Basutoland. Both these institutions are exceedingly useful for the industrial and economic development of the tribe. In addition to the work connected with the schools, there were also the Printing Works and the Book Depôt at Morija. At the death of Rev. Mabille, both these establishments as well as the Bible School had come under the management of Rev. A. Casalis. But it had become necessary to reorganise the Printing Works ; the machines required to be renewed and the time had arrived when it was essential to place that establishment in the hands of a trained man, well acquainted with new methods and able to train apprentices. The stay of Rev. Casalis in Europe from 1902 to 1904 allowed him to give that question his serious consideration. He succeeded in obtaining the money necessary for the purchase of a modern plant worked by means of a petrol motor and for the establishment of suitable premises. An excellent printer, Mr. Labarthe, of Geneva, consented to come to Basutoland for that work. He arrived at Morija together with Rev. Casalis in 1904, and in 1905 the new Printing Works were in full swing.

From that time the books printed there compared very favourably with those published in Europe. Among the publications printed at Morija at that time

may be mentioned a Commentary on four Epistles of St. Paul by Rev. Marzolff, another by Rev. Dieterlen on the Epistle to the Romans and a Sesuto grammar by Rev. Jacottet. To those may be added two books by Basutos, viz. "The Customs and the Proverbs of the Basutos", an imaginative work by Azariel Sekese, and "Moeti oa Bochabela" (The Pilgrim to the East) written by Thomas Mofolo. That book is remarkable both for its very real intrinsic value and because it is the first book of its kind that has ever been written by a Native. That was the beginning of a prolific Native literature, also one of the fruits of the Mission.

The Book Depôt also developed from all points of view. The publications which it issued found a ready market, not only in Basutoland but also in the Transvaal and still further. It was also of much use to all the Missions to the North of the Orange River. For the Mission to-day it is a precious means of propaganda and it is largely due to it that the Mission of Basutoland exercises such a real influence far beyond its own limits. Under the management of Rev. A. Casalis and later of Rev. Duby, it became an establishment of much importance. In 1908 its books showed business amounting to over 100,000 francs per year; and at that same period, the weekly paper, the *Leselinyana*, which was published there, had a circulation of 1500 copies. Both the Printing Works and the Book Depôt have been of inestimable value to the Mission ; it would have been impossible to have done without them.

We can sum up that period by saying that it marked a great step forward for the Church of Basutoland. That does not mean, however, that the Church always

came up to the heights of its task. The enthusiasm of the first days had partly disappeared and a semi-torpor sometimes appeared to have taken possession of it. It wanted a powerful movement of the spirit of God to awaken and revive the spark of life. Truly, the best organisation cannot by itself give life; the breath of the spirit of God is indispensible in order that the Native Christians, the missionaries, the ministers and evangelists may find in a living communion with Jesus Christ the conquering and joyous faith which made it possible for their predecessors to achieve such great things.

III

Basutoland and the Union of South Africa (1910)

At the end of the nineteenth century, South Africa contained four distinct political groups, viz., the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, which were British colonies, and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which were independent republics. The Treaty of Vereeniging, which terminated the Anglo-Boer War, placed them all equally under British rule.

On the 31st of May 1910, with the consent of England, these four colonies united to form only one State, viz. the Union of South Africa.

What changes would that union bring about in the political position of Basutoland, and what effect would it have on its future?

The change could not but have far-reaching consequences for the future of Basutoland. All the conditions of its political, economic and social existence had been altered. Up till then Basutoland, well sheltered behind its frontiers,had been able to live more or less its own life. Being under the direct protection of the British Crown, it had been able to consider its existence assured and its rights safeguarded. The adjoining colonies had had but little influence on it and none of

them had any valid title to its possession or could interfere with its internal affairs.

Now everything had been changed. Basutoland became like an island, a small Native territory in the very centre of the great Union of South Africa, and the latter looks upon it as being a natural dependency which must revert to it some day. England herself has formally acknowledged that those pretensions are well founded. Although it remains provisionally under the direct protection of England, Basutoland is destined to be ceded to the Union of South Africa some day and to be governed by it. Such is the decision of those responsible for its destiny, and the tribe can but passively give its consent in a matter in which it has not really been consulted.

What will the particular position of Basutoland be when that time comes,and what will the future have in store for it under the new conditions under which it will then exist ?

Basutoland has been under the direct rule of the British Crown since 1884. The High Commissioner of South Africa is responsible for its good government and alone possesses the right to promulgate the laws which apply to it. Legally, Basutoland is a territory of the Crown, which can govern it absolutely as it wishes since it has never made any treaty with the Basutos and these gave themselves to it without any conditions. But it is almost a protectorate, since the Paramount Chief of the country is recognised as such and considerable rights have been granted to him. It is largely with him and through him that the British Resident Commissioner governs Basutoland. The autono-

my and the unity of the tribe are thus assured and Basutoland has kept the greater part of its political independence and of its national life.

The Resident Commissioner is the local representative of the British Government. In theory he possesses the most extensive rights. Everything concerning the administration of the country must go through his hands. His assistant commissioners, stationed in the seven districts into which Basutoland is divided, are all under his direct orders. They have rights which are both administrative and judicial, as is the case everywhere in South Africa. Though their powers are great in theory, in practice they are far less considerable. Since 1884 England has tried a new system of Native government in Basutoland.

Before the War of the Guns, from 1871 to 1880, the Cape Colony, of which Basutoland was then a dependency, had in view the gradual destruction of the tribal organisation and the breaking up of the power of the chiefs. The idea was that European magistrates should gradually replace them. That result was attained without much difficulty in the Colonial Kaffraria(Transkei), where the tribal organisation and the power of the chiefs have almost completely disappeared. If the Colonial Government had acted more prudently and had not rushed matters, it is probable that it would have succeeded in obtaining the same results in Basutoland. But, made defiant by changes which were too rapid, and roused at seeing certain of their rights set aside, the Basutos rose in 1880. The War of the Guns was in reality a national reaction in favour the old tribal organisation and of the power of the chiefs, which was the key

to it. The attempt at governing without the chiefs, or rather against them, had resulted in disaster.

England, to whom the Colony had been compelled to hand the country back, decided to pursue an entirely different course, namely to accept frankly the special position which its national organisation had created in Basutoland and to recognise the power of the chiefs. She desired to rule with them and through them. Such is the case, at any rate, in all matters concerning internal affairs. In all matters which concern what might be termed foreign affairs, that is the relations between Basutoland and the neighbouring colonies, the British Government is naturally absolute master, and it decides them as a sovereign without reference to the chiefs or to the tribe. In all other matters it acts differently. The chiefs and their counsellors have the right, except in rare instances which are carefully specified, to adjudicate in all civi or criminal cases, to levy fines and to punish in accordance with the old national customs. It is true that there is a right of appeal to the British magistrates; but that right is rarely exercised. It is only in murder cases the Government interferes, for it alone has the right of life and death.

The same applies to political questions, and to quarrels between neighbouring chiefs on the subject of their boundaries. Those questions are decided by the Resident Commissioner in agreement with the Paramount Chief or the other chiefs of the country. Here again England acknowledges national autonomy.

For some years already a step forward had been taken, as we have seen elsewhere, by the creation of a National Council which sits annually at Maseru. In it

the chiefs sit together with Native counsellors and notabilities of the country. Public opinion can thus voice its feelings, and the chiefs and the Administration are bound to take such into account. Even in legislative questions, which come under the province of the High Commissioner, the Council has now a certain amount of authority and nothing of importance can be done without having at least consulted it. The Administration proper, especially the financial Administration, comes naturally under the British Government; but even there the Council has some influence.

It would have been interesting to see what would have become of Basutoland if circumstances had permitted of the continuation of the policy that had been followed for so many years, and if the generous attempt begun by Sir Marshall Clarke in 1884 could have been brought to finality. Whatever the appearances may have been, there were good chances of success, and it is possible that some day Basutoland might have taken its place as a Native State alongside of the British colonies in South Africa.

The situation had, however, been completely changed, and the Constitution of the Union of South Africa renders the future of Basutoland more uncertain than ever.

When it came to uniting the four South African colonies into one State, the question of Basutoland naturally arose. The difficulty was to know what place to give it, or rather to leave to it in the future, in a united South Africa. One thing was certain, and that was that it could not enter the Union on the same footing as the other colonies. These would never have agreed to grant political equality to a Native State. The laws of the

Union refused to the Natives the rights which they grant the Europeans ; there could thus be no place for the Basutos in the Union itself. In case of necessity, it might have been possible to grant Basutoland a place in a South African Federation, but in a unified State like the one which had just been created, such was impossible. The easiest thing to have done, it would seem, would have been to leave Basutoland and the other two Native protectorates, viz. Bechuanaland and Swaziland, in the position which they occupy to-day, that is to keep them under the direct rule of England. They would thus maintain their integrity and their autonomy. But the Union of South Africa could not agree to keep indefinitely in the very midst of its territory, countries which would never belong to it and which would be like a foreign body in its bosom. The situation would become intolerable some day and it would mean opening the door to ceaseless conflicts between the Union and England.

In the interests of Basutoland that solution, however inviting it may appear at first sight, was not desirable either. Basutoland, closed in on all sides by the Union, would find itself at its mercy economically. The Union could easily make its existence impossible. All it would have to do would be to place a customs barrier round it,to prevent the exportation of its products or to place prohibitive duties on them, and to refuse to pay over to it the customs dues levied on European merchandise meant for them as it entered South Africa. And even if all that could be avoided, it is evident that in the end nothing could prevail against geographical necessities. Basutoland, situated as it is in the very

middle of South Africa, cannot for ever remain outside of the Union of South Africa : whatever may be done, it forms an integral and necessary part of it.

It was thus necessary that England should consent to Basutoland's entry into he Union. But she could not morally cede it bound hand and foot to the new State. That would have been a manifest treason and a flagrant violation of the promises repeatedly made to the tribe. It would have been contrary to all the traditions of the British Government. Besides, a cession without conditions would have been the signal for a rising amongst the Basutos. The Union Government would have had to begin by compelling Basutoland to submit through force of arms and the latter's development would have been compromised.

Lord Selborne, who had represented the British Government in South Africa since 1905, had not waited until the last moment to make a study of the question and to work out a satisfactory solution. He knew the difficulties and felt the importance connected therewith. He was a warm friend of the Natives and considered it his sacred duty to safeguard the rights of the Basutos. He considered that, in the interests of the latter, the future position of Basutoland should be decided at once, and that to avoid greater difficulties at a later stage, it was imperative to settle the question of the future without delay. He realised that, in settling the conditions of the transfer before the conclusion of Union, it would be easier for England to obtain good ones. As South Africa required the consent of he Metropolis to effect Union, it would be more disposed to grant it certain concessions. If, on the contrary, negotiations were en-

tered into later, that is when the Union had perhaps become a strong and powerful State, England would have far greater difficulty in obtaining favourable conditions for its protégés.

Lord Selborne consequently compelled the South African Convention to settle the question at the very outset ; and in that he has rendered to the Basutos a service the importance of which can already be gauged.

The conditions under which the transfer of Basutoland will take place later have been settled between the British Government and the Union of South Africa ; they are to be found in an appendix to the Constitution of the Union. The Schedule containing them has been amended and passed by Parliament in London. It can thus be considered as unalterable, and the Union cannot touch it without the consent of the British Crown.

England has thus consented in principle to the transfer of Basutoland to the Union of South Africa ; she has fixed the conditions in connection therewith and has given her guarantee as to them. Only the time of the transfer is still undecided and such transfer will only take place at the request of the South African Parliament. In terms of the conditions that have been fixed either by the Schedule or by Article 149 of the Constitution, it is not Basutoland itself that will be ceded to the Union, but only the *government* of Basutoland. That means that the Union will have the right to administer the country, but that officially that country will continue to belong to the British Crown. That distinction may seem somewhat subtle and of not much use ; but yet it is of considerable value and contributes largely to the security of the country. Since Union will not possess it but will only

administer it, it can naturally not dispose of it as it might wish. It will hold it so to say on a lease. If we may use the expression, Basutoland will become in a way a "mandated territory" entrusted by England to the Union of South Africa.

When once they have been transferred to the Union in the manner indicated above, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland will remain separate territories and will have to be governed differently from the rest of South Africa. They will be under the direct control of the Prime Minister of the Union, who will govern them by means of a permanent Commission consisting of at least three members nominated practically irrevocably for ten years. That Commission will administer those "Territories" in agreement with the Prime Minister and will appoint the Resident Commissioner, the magistrates, etc. The legislative power will be exercised by the Governor General and the Prime Minister ; they alone will have the privilege of legislating. The Union Parliament will be able to ask for the repeal of certain laws, but will not have the right either to amend them or to make new ones in their stead. The Commission of the Territories will always have to be consulted, and in the event of the Prime Minister acting contrary to its proposals, it will have the right to appeal either to the Governor General or to Parliament.

The effect of that arrangement is to deprive the Union Parliament of the control of the Native territories. There would be a grave danger in placing the Territories under the direct control of a Parliament in which they would not even be represented and where their interests would certainly be neglected and even frequently

sacrificed. The intention is to keep the Territories apart from party quarrels and to safeguard them against the want of consistency which too frequently characterises a parliamentary Government. Governed by a permanent Commission, under the guidance of the Prime Minister, the Territories will be better administered and in a more consistent and less capricious manner; they will not suffer by the often so frequent changes due to the contradictory decisions of a Parliament; they will be more remote from party quarrels, and will come into touch with them only indirectly.

While it is permissible to criticise the manner in which the question of the administration of Basutoland has been settled, yet we cannot but unreservedly approve of the other articles of the Schedule and recognise the effort made by the British Government to safeguard the rights of the tribe: special paragraphs assure the financial and economic autonomy of the Native Territories; their revenue must be spent for them and in their respective countries; the customs dues levied on merchandise imported from outside come to them; and the Union must allow them free entry for their products. Any danger of a customs blockade has thus been removed.

Other paragraphs, still more important, safeguard the rights of the Natives: no portion of the Basutoland territory can be taken away from the Basutos. That stipulation is by far the most important; it has contributed more than any other to bring the Basutos and their friends close together. The importation and the sale of brandy is prohibited for ever. The National Council of the tribe will be maintained.

All that means that the national life of the tribe will

continue as in the past and that Basutoland will remain a semi-independant state, having its national unity, its special political life, its own finances and its own administration. It is true that it will no longer be under the direct protection of England, as is the case to-day ; but the latter has not done away with all her privileges, and the British Crown reserves to itself the express right of veto concerning any law made by the Union which might seem to it to affect the interest of the Basutos adversely.

Further, not one of the articles of the Schedule can be altered by the Union without the express sanction of the British Crown. That means that no law made by the Union Parliament to modify the stipulations of the Schedule will be valid unless it has obtained the formal consent of the Crown. That is a very fine guarantee for the future and we can look with every confidence to England not allowing any violation of the rights of the country. The past gives us every reason to hope so. For some seventy years England has given to the Basutos repeated proofs of her benevolence, and we feel certain that she will keep the promises that she had made to them.

What will happen to Basutoland when once it is within the Union ? That is a question of paramount interest which has never ceased to have the attention of the Mission, which is always on the look-out in all matters pertaining to the safeguarding and the progress of the tribe, as is shown by the events related in detail in this chapter.

Theoretically everything has been arranged as well as might be desired and the guarantees given are of the

best. If everything could proceed in the manner laid down by the Schedule we would have no fear, and, as Lord Selborne publicly stated, the Basutos would hardly perceive that they were governed by the Union of South Africa instead of by England direct.

But everyone knows that in the political domain, the best constitutions are only worth something if they are applied in the spirit in which they have been conceived. It is useless to hide the fact that the Basutos have legitimate cause to fear in that respect; they know that a whole section of the White population has but one desire, and that is to keep the Blacks always in the position of an inferior and servile race. They know that their Orange Free State neighbours covet their fertile soil and the rich pasture grounds of the Malutis. They wonder whether their new masters will not find some means of twisting their promises, and some plausible pretext to expropriate them. They have followed South African policy too closely to have very much confidence in the spirit of justice of those who direct it. They know, among other things, that at the very moment when the South African Convention was agreeing to the clauses contained in the Schedule and was giving the Basutos the necessary guarantees, it was endeavouring to deprive them of them surreptitiously by means of a cleverly worded paragraph. Fortunately, however, the danger was noticed in time,and the British Government had matters rectified. But the Basutos wonder whether another attempt of the same kind will not perhaps succeed better some day.

If, therefore, the future of Basutoland is uncertain in many respects, it must be remembered that that

country had already passed through grave crises, that on three occasions already, that is in 1852, in 1868 and in 1880, its ruin seemed imminent and yet it came out of the furnace stronger than before. Our Mission confidently believes that Basutoland will be able to continue to live, to develop and to fulfil the destiny which God appears to have in store for it, that is to give South Africa the example of a small Native people capable of becoming civilised, of developing and of lifting itself up through the Gopsel.

In reality the future of the Basutos depends upon themselves. It has often been said, and although it is not true in every case yet it is so in most, that a people never perishes except through its own fault. If the Basutos are wise, if they continue to have the political sense of which they have so frequently given proof, if they understand the duties which their new position will imply, they will escape the worst dangers in the future as they have done in the past. They will have to know how to put their house in order, to remain united and peaceful, and to develop in the direction of civilisation and of Christianity.

If our Mission does its duty and if the tribe does not set itself against its influence, there is no reason why Basutoland should not subsist for a long time yet and why its future should not be assured.

IV

Opening up and expansion of the Church (1908—1914)

The period with which we are now about to deal, viz. from 1908 to 1914, marks the zenith of the work as far as the European Mission proper is concerned. After this, the Native element will be numerically superior and the Church of Basutoland, marching gradually towards the goal aimed at by its founders, will quite naturally take its destiny more and more into its own hands.

The European missionaries were fully justified at that moment in having the greatest hope and confidence in the fulfilment, in the fairly near future, of the task which they had set themselves at the outset, viz. the constitution and the definite autonomy of the Church of Basutoland. But, owing to certain events and to reasons to which we shall refer later, the future held obstacles and difficulties in store, which compelled the Native Church to progress but slowly in that direction for some time, and only with great prudence.

The period with which we are now dealing, really also marks, politically and socially speaking, the end of an epoch; it is the moment of calm preceding the great upheaval which was to shake the whole world down to its foundations and would create an entirely new gene-

ral situation.It so happened through the natural order of things,that the Mission was able,exactly at that time, to pause for a moment and make a general review of its forces.

In October 1908 a solemn commemoration of the first seventy-five years of the Mission among the Basutos took place, first at Morija and then in various parts of the country. It was made an occasion for very fine ceremonies and celebrations which were fully described at the time and attracted the attention of various classes of the public to the work of the French-speaking Protestants in that part of the African Continent. Delegates from nearly all the missionary Societies and associations in South Africa,as well as eminent personages in the political world and the Paramount Chief Letsie II, met there, not only to see the work accomplished by the missionaries, but also to exhort the tribe in the words then used by the Resident Commissioner, Sir Herbert Sloley, "to prepare for the Centenary by progressing in all branches, particularly in the practice of moderation and of self control, and always to listen to and follow the advice of their missionaries." That Jubilee, presided over by Rev. Ed. Jacottet, and at which Litia, the heir to the throne of the Barotses was also present, was rendered even more solemn by the presence of an important delegation of members of the directing Committee and of the French and Swiss Churches, headed by Rev. J. Bianquis, the general secretary of the Society.

There was a certain danger for the Mission in receiving from so many different sources such glowing testimonies and such marks of appreciation and even

of praise for the work which it had accomplished,and the missionaries as well as the ministers were not slow at perceiving it."What shall we do with all these praises ?" said the Native minister of Siloe on that occasion. "When we think of the people of Moshesh, let us not forget our sorrows : persistent paganism,the small number of ministers and of evangelists,and above all, the plague of drink. . . . At this moment we are receiving much ; let us remember to use and to distribute these riches." The missionary H. Bertschy, likewise, at the final sitting,which was a farewell meeting, warned his audience against the pride which might accrue from all the praise received by the Mission during that Jubilee : "In truth", said he, "we have ploughed but a small furrow ; we are not even half way. The time has not yet come for us to rest. Your last Synod declared that during the last four years the work of God has progressed but slowly ; there is therefore no reason for us to be proud. The praises that have been showered upon us must have another effect on us. Sometimes a heavily laden waggon cannot move out of the mire. To get it out it is necessary to stimulate the oxen, which then strain their limbs and even get on their knees to pull with all their strength. The Jubilee is an encouragement of that kind which God sends us. Let us also fall on our knees and make use of all our energy for the fray. Let us make others profit by the blessings which we have received, and let the praises which we have heard engender in us humility and a greater zeal, lest those praises do us harm."

Any somewhat ceremonious meeting to which they are invited en masse always creates a certain feeling of

nervousness among the Natives, and their expectations inevitably increase in the proportion of the importance, in the social scale, of those who convoke it. And so it was with a feeling of true gratitude, of relaxation and of joy that the Basutos dispersed after the Jubilee, having received nothing but good for their souls and the assurance of the indefatigable solicitude of the Mission and of the authorities. The sight of those churches with so many different denominations, the meaning of which the Natives cannot grasp, and yet united in the same spirit and in the same communion of faith and of hope in the Christ, Saviour of the Whites and the Blacks, was by itself for those Natives a beneficial manifestation of the unity of the universal evangelic Church under the same head and with the same aims. There were also some sentences spoken on that occasion which remained engraved in their hearts and brought them peace and confidence in the future: "Africa is immense", said a Zulu delegate, minister in the service of the American Mission, "but we are destined to be all united in the same Church one day. . . You have been chosen, you Basutos, in the midst of so many others, and our hearts are with you." — "We love you", said the delegate of the Mission Society in the name of its Committee, "We love you and shall always love you. With the help of God we firmly intend to pursue to the end the work which we have begun among you. You can reckon on these words: they are of those people who have never deceived you."

The Jubilee, followed by the Synod, was thus a powerful stimulant for the Mission and for the Church of Basutoland. That Synod extraordinary, which sat

only six months after the ordinary Synod, gave an opportunity of showing that the work had started again on its march forward, in spite of inevitable dark clouds. Conversions were taking place, and, as one of the delegates said, "the enthusiasm infused in the last Synod and carried into our churches, has spread".

It is at the time of the meeting of the mixed Conference (Seboka), in agreement with the delegation that had come from the Zambesi for the Jubilee, that the following matters were decided upon, viz. the conditions under which the collaboration of the churches of Basutoland with the Zambesi Mission would be taken up afresh, the conditions under which evangelists would be sent, the duration of their stay, their stipend, their position with regard to the missionaries, and their rights and their duties. Basutoland undertook to organise yearly subscriptions ; and a small commission consisting of the missionary L. Mabille and of the Basuto ministers Ed. Motsamai and J. Mohapeloa was appointed to look after the interests of those evangelists and to keep in touch with them by correspondence. It is sad to have to mention that that collaboration had hardly begun afresh when Jeriel Pheku, one of the first evangelists to leave for the Zambesi, died there very shortly after his arrival. (1)

Notwithstanding the great infantile mortality, the population of Basutoland continued to increase. That was due chiefly to the influx of immigrants, whom certain laws of the White settlers, agrarian laws in particular, were driving to seek refuge among surroundings

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That new collaboration with the Zambesi Mission did not come up to the expectations of the missionaries. It only lasted a few years and finally ceased.

natural to people of their colour. It was at that time that many tracts of land, up till then used for pastoral purposes, were turned into agricultural lands and that the problem of pasturage and the struggle between stock and agriculture began in Basutoland, an economic and social struggle, the importance of which will become more and more serious in a country as small and shut in as Basutoland. The last census of that period (1911) showed a population of 404,507 souls (1,396 Europeans and 403,111 non-Europeans), that is an increase of 55,659 inhabitants in ten years.

During that time the Church passed from 17,505 Christian communicants in 1909 to 22,233 in 1914, and from 6,881 catechumens in 1909 to 9,325 in 1914. The figures always showed a very large majority of women in the Church and the problem of the conversion of the men remained, for the time being, an exceedingly complicated, not to say almost insoluble, one The number of evangelists increased from 224 in 1909 to 264 in 1914, and that cf the Native ministers, from 13 in 1909 to 16. It is during that period that the following parishes were established, viz. that of Pitseng (1911) with the minister Gustave Majara at its head ; that of Seforong (1911) under the care of A. Ramahloko and that of Mohalinyane (1912) with Job Moteane in charge. This showed more clearly than ever that the country was being occupied more and more by the Native Church, and fully bore out the truth of the words spoken by the minister Tommy Fallot in 1881 : "The formation of Native churches capable of being entirely self sufficient, of autonomous churches, is the supreme object which the Evangelical Missions are aiming at. The Native pasto-

rate is the key to that work of material and spiritual emancipation....."

So far as the missionary body itself is concerned, it continued during all those years to suffer much from the small personnel at its disposal. It remained at much the same number at a period when it would have been highly desirable for it to have been considerably increased. It is true that several new missionaries arrived; in October 1908, at the time of the Jubilee, Revs. A. Jaques and G. Dieterlen, in 1911 Rev. Oechsner de Coninck, in 1912 Rev. J. Guiton and in 1914 Rev. P. Colin; but, as against that, Rev. Fred. Christol returned to Europe in 1908, and at the end of the same year Rev. G. Lorriaux died at Qalo after an illness of three years, and was followed in 1912 by Revs. H. R. Dyke and H. Marzolff, who were cut down while still in their prime, and the same year Mr C. H. Labarthe died in Europe.

This was a severe blow. While the Mission should have gone forward, the new men who had arrived were barely sufficient to fill up the vacancies occasioned by those deaths and that departure. Rev. G. Dieterlen was placed at the Sebapala to replace Rev. Pascal, who had been sent to Masitise; Rev. Auguste Jaques was placed at Qalo, Rev. Oechsner de Coninck at Berea and Rev. Guiton, after having remained a few months at Cana, took charge of the Normal School. Rev. Colin succeeded Rev. Marzolff at Likhoele.

We should here mention an important fact so far as the Natives generally are concerned. On the 8th of January 1912, the first session of the Native National Council was held at Bloemfontein and was attended by delegates of the chief tribes and clans of South Africa.

Basutoland was represented by the chief Maama and by Counsellors Philip Molise and Josias Mopeli.

Shortly afterwards, namely on the 28th of January 1913, the Paramount Chief Letsie II died ; he was succeeded by the chief Griffith, second son of Lerotholi, who was declared as such by the High Commissioner of South Africa, Lord Gladstone, with the approval of all the great chiefs of the tribe, on the 11th of April of the same year. In March 1914, with the approval of the whole tribe, the Government took a prophylactic measure of the greatest importance for the country, that is the segregation of all the lepers of Basutoland at Botšabelo (the Refuge) near Maseru. An appeal was made to the Mission for a chaplain and Rev. H. Dieterlen left Leribe to fill the post. After a comparatively short time, however, he returned to his usual avocation and filled the vacancy created at Likhoele by the transfer of Rev. Colin to Thaba-Bosigo, where he replaced Rev. Baltzer who had resigned.

During the whole of that period, the schools of the Mission progressed greatly, chiefly owing to the impulse given to them by Rev. Jacottet. The efforts of the Mission in that direction were intensified by the publication of new school manuals and by the organisation of the educational system. That organisation became centred more and more under one authority, the pet idea of the Secretary for Schools, the establishment of which post took place in 1910. It was also during that year that the Government brought into being the Central Board of Advice, one of the chief tasks of which would later be the unification of all the efforts of the three principal Missions which were at work in the

country. That Council, which had to meet at least once a year at Maseru, consisted of the Resident Commissioner of the Territory, the Director of Education (whose post was created in 1907), three representatives of the French Mission, one representative of the Anglican Mission, one of the Roman Catholic Mission, and later, one representative of the Paramount Chief.

At that time schools increased considerably in number and were to be found even in the most remote valleys of the Malutis, and the establishment of new parishes in charge of Native ministers greatly developed the work and brought about the creation of new out-stations. Even the parish of Qalo, which was generally recognised as the most backward from all points of view and the most heathen of the whole of Basutoland, was beginning to progress, and, under the charge of Rev. Jaques, to develop its schools to such an extent that, a few years later, it became in that respect one of the most flourishing in the country. The awakening of a whole district under the guidance of a missionary who had joined the Mission rather late in life, is a veritable miracle of the power of God in conjunction with the faithful service of a man.

The secondary schools were likewise on the ascendant, and the Theological School continued to prepare the ministers whom the Church needed. The statistics of that period for the primary schools of the Mission show 21,186 pupils in 1914, and 552 teachers spread over 260 out-stations. The subsidies of the Government for the schools of the Mission amounted to 165,000 francs (pre-war value).

Roman Catholicism, which was introduced into

Basutoland in 1862, was represented, at the beginning of the period under review, by an Apostolic Prefect and about twenty Fathers, in addition to a certain number of lay brethren belonging to the oblate "Marie-Immaculée" congregation,most of whom were French. A fairly considerable number of sisters of the"Sainte-Famille" cared for the education and direction of the young girls. The Roman Catholics possessed at that time nine or ten chief stations and at least as many out-stations where mass was celebrated regularly. Their schools were their weakest point at that time and only numbered 800 pupils in 1906. It is clear that it is the use of the Native forces that has made it possible for the French Mission to become what it is. It would seem as if, at that time, the Catholics did not realise the importance of those forces ; at any rate, they failed to make use of them.

From an ecclesiastical point of view, they succeeded better. In 1904 they estimated the number of their Christians at 5,500 (no doubt including children). The priests pursued their work with remarkable enthusiasm and with more success than formerly. They were active and devoted and their adherents were beginning to be met with everywhere, even in the immediate vicinity of our stations. The Roman Catholic Church thus exercised then already, a certain influence in the country, an influence which has always been hostile to us. However much it may be regretted, nothing can be done to it.. The purer and more life-giving our Church is, the more shall we be able to surmount the difficulties of all kinds which the Roman Catholic propaganda continues to create for us.

The Anglican Church came into Basutoland about

1875. At first it remained confined to the villages of the magistracies. It was only by degrees that it directed its activities to the Basutos themselves and spread in the country. In 1908 it occupied eight or nine stations. The Anglican priests, who nearly all belong to the High Church, have adopted our methods and established a fairly considerable number of out-stations under the charge of Basuto evangelists. From that time they also aimed at training Native ministers for their work. They had then from 1,500 to 2,000 communicants in Basutoland, where their schools numbered approximately 2,000 pupils. They had founded a fairly important Normal School a few miles from Morija, and had, at that time, a second one near Leribe. Their relations with the French Mission have, generally speaking, been correct and sometimes even cordial.

Let us mention here, purely for purpose of record, the efforts made by some sects such as the Seventh Day Adventists, whose Mission, established at Kolo about 1898, has remained without any appreciable results.

Another Church, which was more important and could have been more dangerous for our work, was the Church called Ethiopian. Established in Pretoria in 1892 or 1893 by a few Native Wesleyan ministers who had broken away from their Church, it had not been much heard of until the time when, in 1898, it called to its assistance the Native Episcopalian Methodists of the United States of America. The triumphal tour which the Native bishop Turner made that year gave Ethiopism a great notoriety and a great influence in certain quarters. Its platform is the colour question ; it wants to free the Native Christians from the tutelage

under which the European missionaries keep them. It makes an appeal to all malcontents and to all who are ambitious.

It really rests on a principle which is just, but is imperfectly understood and is misapplied. Every Mission which understands its duty — and it is to the honour of the Mission of Basutoland that it has always done so — will always endeavour to constitute a Native Church which will be able to become independent and to live its own life when the proper time arrives.

To bring to fruition a programme so vast and so far distant requires a lengthy period of education stretching over many years ; and that is what the Ethiopians neither want to nor can understand. What they really preach is an ecclesiastical revolution of the Native Christians against all form of European control. A Church cannot live long with an aim which is so purely negative ; and that is why Ethiopism is divided to-day in South Africa into a certain number of rival and inimical sects. It remains none the less a powerful element of disintegration for the other churches.

The Ethiopian Church has never really been able to get a footing in Basutoland. In spite of the efforts which it made and the support which some chiefs gave it, it found in that country ground ill-prepared for its propaganda. The very fact that the French Mission was doing a work so entirely national did not permit of its using, with any success, the arguments which it generally has recourse to. The Christians and even the Basuto heathens could see clearly enough that our work was carried on solely for the Natives and that our Mission was busy founding and organising for them the true

Church of Basutoland. (1). Thus the Ethiopians have to be content with carrying on a work which has no real or durable importance.

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(1) The simple fact that in the Seboka the Native ministers have received complete equality of status with the European missionaries and that they have the free management and the entire responsibility of the finances of their parishes, has sufficed to convince the Basutos of the absolute sincerity of the Mission in that respect.

V

The World War and the Natives, or the end of an era (1914)

If the period of its history which ends with the Jubilee of 1908 marks for its work the apex of its development, so far as the Mission proper is concerned, since it is destined by its very essence to allow itself to be gradually effaced by the Native Church, so also, as we have already stated, does the period which terminates in 1914 — the year of the Great War—mark, from the point of view of the general development and of the very condition of the existence of the Natives in South Africa and consequently of the Basutos, so to say the end of an era and a transition into an entirely new state of affairs.

Up to then, the Blacks had been too little developed and especially too absorbed in their own matters to have had the time or opportunity to broaden their horizon.

For all the tribes and clans of South Africa, the first half of the nineteenth century had denoted an uninterrupted struggle for existence itself ; ethnic groupings had formed themselves or fallen away ; others, less well armed for the fight, like the Bushmen, had sunk finally in the waves which overpowered them like a

wreck between the waters of the Black race descending from the north and those of the White race coming up from the south ; kingdoms, some more and some less powerful and sanguinary, were created and crumbled down, dragging in their train the clash of clans, one against the other and their total emigration in all directions, in the midst of a chaos and frequently a famine of the worst kind. In fact, for many long years, it was like a general scramble for life in the prevailing disorder and despair which the Basutos expressed by means of the word "lifaqane" and "bokaota", with the rising spectre of famine and of cannibalism.

The arrival of the first White settlers, as we have already seen, did not, at the outset at any rate, bring about a better state of affairs ; the political and economic history of South Africa bears testimony of the bloody struggles no longer among Blacks only, but between Blacks and Whites.

It is thus quite natural and comprehensible that during the greater portion of the period of the history which occupies our attention, the Blacks should have lived, as it were, doubled over, like plants in which drought has prevented the sap from rising. Their horizon was thus limited to themselves and their sole ambition was not to disappear from existence. For them the morrow was the limit of the future. Truly a negative life, a vegetating life, inert, shapeless and empty matter, darkness on the surface of the abyss, without even, in the view of man, the "spirit of God moving on the waters" !

If we compare what was then with what is now after barely a century of direct contact, we can verily say that

the history of Black Africa, and particularly the history of European Missions in South Africa, where the Gospel has generally preceded civilisation, is a monument erected to the glory of God, who once more commanded that there should be light, and there was light. It is to be trusted that the Africans will never forget it.

It is indeed due to the Gospel, or rather to the infinite love of God, represented by humble men and women, His servants, that, little by little and in the midst of untold difficulties, the wars, with their attendant trail of misery, became less frequent and eventually disappeared altogether, and that, aided by peace, the tribes were able to take fresh courage and confidence in themselves.

The history of the Mission of Basutoland is, in that respect, a unique testimony to the power of the Gospel to save men. It is due to that message and to the peace brought into the country by those who were called, and due also, it must not be forgotten, to the personality of Moshesh, that the Basutos owe the fact that they were able to reconstruct and to consolidate their position and that, little by little, they could raise their eyes towards wider horizons. The Mission contributed to that primarily by the fact that the Gospel compels man to come out of himself and to know and love his neighbour. That was the first and most important step taken to lead the Blacks to raise their eyes to a higher plane.

The attitude of the missionaries in condemning civil wars and raids, even at the risk of their popularity, and later, their appeal to the Basutos to leave their own people to go to the Bonyai and even further, to the Zambesi to save souls, contributed to create, if not a

public opinion, at least a new mentality, solidarity and sense of responsibility.

The peace brought in order and dignity by the protecting Government, which at last permitted of the free political and economic development of the tribe; the desire also to profit by the benefits of civilisation, such as they saw brought by the traders, whose goods created in them new wants for their well-being and their comfort; the introduction of fire-arms and the discovery of the diamond mines and later of the gold mines, which enabled them to procure those arms and many more commodities up till then unknown to them; all that also gave their awakening a great impetus.

Moreover, contact with work — and to work is already a self-manifestation — with thousands of other Natives having the same interests and the same preoccupations, also perforce created an esprit de corps which is an enlargement of the personality. Similarly, wonderful to relate, on the benches of the humble schools of the Mission, boys and girls, agriculturists and sons of chiefs sat together, obeying equally and for the first time the same rules and subject to the same discipline, all equal before God, for at least a few hours every day.

The reader will forgive us the preceding lengthy digression. We feel, however, that it will not be without value for the complete comprehension of what follows.

The Anglo-Boer war broke out in 1899. It was no longer a matter of colour or of race; men of the same kind had come into conflict, disputing to one another the possession of the riches of the land, and this in the sight of the Black inhabitants of that land. It showed that the Whites were not united; they, the masters, had

the same desires and the same divisions as the ignorant Blacks, their subjects. Even though the Blacks did not interfere — and they kept themselves in check admirably — that gave them food for reflection and the horizon of their thoughts broadened, since to think is to free oneself from one's limitations.

Meanwhile the thirst for education was increasing in the whole of South Africa. We have already seen in the previous chapters how it spread in Basutoland. The Scotch Evangelical Mission founded the educational institution of Lovedale, and a little later the various Missions, the Government and the friends of the Natives in South Africa established the South African Native college of Fort Hare, where the Natives could acquire a superior university education.

As we have seen, the Ethiopian Church was making a pressing appeal to the Black people of America, and Negro bishops from the United States were making tours of the country amid great enthusiasm. Our Natives received impressions of an idealised America, which they took to be peopled almost entirely by Blacks. Through contact with those Black missionaries from across the Atlantic, they learned the worth of the union of the forces of one and the same race, and at the same time, they were tasting of an intoxicating drink labelled, "Africa for the Africans". If the Basutos did not allow their heads to be turned thereby, it is for reasons which we have mentioned elsewhere. All the same, a new element, brought by the descendants of the White people's slaves, entered at that time into the minds of the Blacks of South Africa.

And now came the Great War, the World War, which

marks the beginning of a new order of things throughout the world. It was no longer a matter of some obscure struggle between clans or tribes, nor even of the greed of two countries the one against the other. It was the torment, the devastating fire which caused the nations to fall the one after the other into the furnace as if intoxicated, and the fire continued to gain; on ships it crossed the ocean, under the sea, on land and in the air, it swept the continents, and millions of human beings of all races threw themselves into the thick of it without even knowing why they killed one another. As in the days when the Roman Empire was trembling on its foundations, mercenaries went from all parts of the known world; something irresistible dragged them away from their dwellings, from their mountains, from the banks of their rivers or from their forest homes, under promises of unhoped for advantages, money, honours, and even. . .

Generally speaking, the Basutos understood only one thing out of all they were told, and that was that, when all the White men had well nigh exterminated one another, and when in their merciless struggle they required help, they would then appeal to the races which had up till then been ignored or despised. Not aware of the greatness or smallness of the various nations which participated in the war, they could not understand that it should require so many people and so much time to conquer an enemy which they imagined to be practically isolated. For those who know the race pride of the majority of the Black tribes, Bantus or others, a pride kept down for many years during which they suffered through their incapacity and their divisions, this state revealed a new fact, that is, the equal value

as between them of the different Native tribes and races united for the first time in the same effort. All of them, from whatever parts of Africa, America or elsewhere they had come, either as auxiliary soldiers or as hands either on the ships or in the ports or in the rear — (and here we may say that the Basutos of the French Church were among the first to leave for the scene of war) — either went overseas or took part in South Africa in the Great War. They thus came into contact with the White man in his home and out of it ; they saw his intimate life and they discovered in him, side by side with the marvels which they did not even take the trouble to endeavour to understand, the same faults and the same vices which they knew in their own villages. They came into contact with White men, and alas too frequently with White women, of easy virtue, and many of them thus returned to their villages having lost the feeling of distance which up to then had kept them separate from the civilised people.

That meant that the authority and the respect which the White man inspired in them had frequently been considerably reduced. They returned to their homes with a feeling of surprise and almost of terror for the modern inventions of the Europeans ; they admired their power for work ; but they also now felt more than ever before, that they were of the same family and no longer mere inferiors or servants, but younger brothers who should find a place at the same table.

And so, to revert to the Basutos, it is not to be wondered at that they endeavoured by all means, through their own newspapers, amongst others, or through those of the White people, to remain in touch

with all post-war movements. The peace settlement interested them and they thus came to hear of President Wilson's propositions, and the famous right of nations to dispose of their own affairs set them thinking to such an extent that they nearly petitioned that they be given back a portion of the territory which the Boers had taken away.

In truth the time has now arrived when the nations of the world and the various races which people it have come into contact with one another to such an extent that it is no longer possible to ignore the fact. The problem of the future must be solved, a problem which will very soon become acute in South Africa if a remedy is not applied ; for, from now onwards it will be a case of conciliating the interests of the older generation with those of the younger, in order to make it possible for the great human family to live together in peace and to develop under the power and the eye of God.

The higher the Natives rise the more it will be the duty of the White people to remain ahead of them in order to guide them by always preceding them on the road of knowledge and of right, of justice and of love. "Behold", says the Word of God, "I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it". (Apo. 3.8)

To sum up : during the last period with which we have been dealing, the Basutos together with all their Black brethren, have definitely entered into the world picture. From now on they will be seen strengthening their contact with the other Bantus and even entering into relations with syndicates or associations of Natives of the Union of South Africa for the defence, by law, of their industrial or economic interest. Most of the time

their efforts are bound,under their present circumstances, to be a failure, for they have not yet learned perseverance, nor how to help one another, nor the spirit of sacrifice, either pecuniary or otherwise. The Basuto chiefs also entered into relations with chiefs of other tribes, and the beginnings of common action began to evolve slowly, and tribes and clans, while still keeping their particular status, became used to the common term of "Bantus", which unites them all, the embryo of what will probably one day become the Bantu race, standing side by side with the White race.

For the Basutos that is also the time in their history that, apart from the development of the Native pastorate, and parallel with it, some of the Natives began to send their children to study in Europe or in America, at the cost of the heaviest sacrifices. The first Mosuto to qualify in medicine was Dr. Sebeta, who, when he came back from overseas, received a post subsidised by the Government in the Malutis.

We have dealt at some length with this period, which, as we have already stated, marks, as it were, the end of an era and the beginning of new times for the Church of Basutoland as well as for the tribe itself. We crave the forgiveness of the reader.

It is now easy, be it said in conclusion, to understand the place which the Basuto nation will take in that amalgam which is termed the Bantus, as the Basutos are the only people who have virtually kept their independence, who have, so to say, been fed on the Gospel from their infancy, and have been protected and maintained by a Government animated by a high ideal.

What a privilege that is for all the Basutos at a

time when the organism seeks to shake off its torpor and to become conscious of itself. But also, what a danger for that race if, having had such a favourable start, it should want the necessary brake in a competition which is becoming more and more rapid.

The Gospel alone can bring wisdom and dignity to men, be they Black or White, by giving them the consciousness of their personal value as human beings (which certain people deplore in the Native) and by also inculcating in them the sense of the value of their neighbour and of the respect which one should have for the life as well as for the ideas even of those whom we do not understand.

FOURTH PERIOD
The Church of Basutoland and the evolution of South Africa
(1914—1933)

I

The Church and the new position (1914—1918)

In 1914 the Mission appeared to be progressing normally towards the ideal which it had set itself, that is the more and more intensive evangelization of Basutoland by the Basutos themselves. That aim did not seem to be too far from being reached when war broke out suddenly, causing the simultaneous departure of a good number of the missionaries who were at work. In the early days of August, Revs. G. Dieterlen, J. Guiton, A. Oechsner de Coninck and M. Lescoute (who was then busy preparing the erection of the new church at Berea), embarked for France.

That blow, happening at a moment when the work already found itself weakened by the departures and the deaths of which we have already made mention, seemed almost a mortal one for the Mission, and it required the

flexibility of its organisation and the immeasurable power of the Native pastorate as well as the sometimes most moving fidelity of the body of evangelists to prevent the work from crumbling down. Within a few weeks, we might almost say a few days, the parish of the Sebapala, the Leloaleng School, the Normal School and the parish of Berea found themselves without their heads. It was necessary to make provision without any delay for the very grave situation which had been caused by that state of affairs. In consequence, Rev. Pascal (of Masitise) was delegated to attend to Leloaleng and at the same time to watch the interest of the Sebapala; Rev. Jacottet, who already had his hands full with the Theological School, provisionally added the Normal School to his other duties; the station of Berea was placed under the supervision of the Native minister of Maseru. It was a makeshift, but through the goodness of God and thanks to the close collaboration of those who remained behind, the work was not only maintained, but it even progressed.

And yet, a general setback might have been expected, for what a surprise, what a scandal even, it was for the Basutos, heathens as well as Christians, to see their missionaries called to take part in the war! Up to now the Mission, God's work, that is a work of love and peace, had never intervened in the conflicts of all kinds in which the nation had been involved, except only to condemn the spilling of blood and to loudly denounce the abuses and the ills resulting from any warfare. The missionaries had on occasions energetically intervened to deal disciplinarily with those who had profited by certain campaigns or raids. And now, what were they

going to do over there, leaving at a moment's notice the work which so sorely needed them? What necessity was there for them to leave wife, children and church to be themselves also thrown into the mêlée? The Basutos are tillers of the ground, and as such they love the soil, although it does not belong to them personally, it being the property of the community. And thus the war, which to their minds meant the defence of a menaced soil (and they had suffered so much on that score) appeared to them after due reflection, to be less blameworthy; but there remained all the same, among many of them, a feeling of astonishment at seeing the White people entering into fratricidal wars, just as they themselves had done formerly, and making no distinction of person, but mobilising God's servants just the same as any other of their subjects.

That certainly did not tend to facilitate the spreading of the Gospel.

Meanwhile months and years passed and the struggle still continued. The astonishment of the Basutos increased as time passed, for they could not understand that the opposing parties should hide themselves from one another to fight, nor that it should be necessary for them to entrench themselves, whereas it would have been so much simpler to stand face to face and thus finish quickly.

Then they were approached about going overseas, also to do their bit and help the Government of the "Queen" and her allies to hasten the conclusion of hostilities; they would not take a direct part in the battles (such is absolutely in conflict with the ideas of the White people in South Africa); but they would off-

load cargoes and would replace the Europeans who were required elsewhere, in many tasks in the rear and more especially in the ports. They hesitated for a while, and then, making up their minds, they enrolled and in their turn went the way which, although for different reasons and with a different aim, the White people, and particularly their missionaries had gone. And thus several hundreds of them left their country. Among them were a great number of Christians of the Church of Basutoland. They had with them chaplains, and even Native evangelists of our Mission, and many among them had the advantage in Europe of being under the influence of one of their old missionaries, Rev. Ernest Mabille, who accompanied them.

However modest the role they played during the war may have been, the Basutos nevertheless suffered many deaths, either through illness in Europe or during the voyage (it must not be forgotten that one of the ships on which they were proceeding to Europe was torpedoed on the 21st of February 1917, occasioning much loss of life),or after their return, as many of them, after having returned to their homes, succumbed to tuberculosis, the germs of which they had contracted in Europe. Let it be said to the honour of the Basutos, that they were faithful to the duties which they had undertaken to perform, whether it be in Europe or in Africa. The situation in the Union of South Africa was much disturbed, but they wisely refused to be moved by the state of agitation then prevailing.

The armistice had not even been proclaimed yet, when a new misfortune befell the whole world and cost the Basutos, among others, thousands of victims :

the so-called Spanish flu, brought to South Africa by ships proceeding from Europe, soon spread throughout the land with terrible virulence. Only those who lived through those times of affliction can fully realise their horror. Truly the Word of God is correct when it associates war, pestilence and famine intimately, for those three plagues ravaged the whole world, at that time, each one in its turn, and hit with violence entire populations which had done nothing to provoke the blows. Never had the Basutos seen the like : the whole life of the country was at a standstill. Travellers were no longer met with on the roads, transport of merchandise was no longer seen ; there were no workers in the fields ; no smoke even was seen issuing from the afflicted homes. Except for small groups here and there, consisting mostly of aged persons hastily burying their dead when they had sufficient strength left to do so, nobody was seen about. At rare intervals travellers were seen descending from the Malutis carrying on their mount babies found in the villages, the only survivors of all the inhabitants. No more heathen initiation and other ceremonies ; no more drinking feasts ; no more schools open ; even no more services in the churches, which had been closed by order. Many believed that it was the end of the world and were resigned to their fate. But what perhaps seemed the most difficult thing for the Basutos (both christians and heathen) to understand and to accept, was that they should be prohibited from coming together to pray to God, especially at that unique moment when the whole population felt that men could no more reckon on their own strength, but that there was only One to whom they could look for

help, namely God himself. But all the same in many places the Natives tried to come together in the open, so intense was the need which they felt of drawing near to God.

In that respect, that calamity awakened latent spiritual needs among very many Basutos, and produced a fairly strong revival.

One of the agents of that revival was — perhaps in spite of himself — a man from the vicinity of Berea, a Kaffir by origin, named Matita. Although we must of necessity be rather brief on the subject of the period which we are now reviewing, we cannot but make mention of him. At a time when everything spoke of death and when the mind felt powerfully how fragile human life is, Matita, who had been busy for several years already with a campaign of evangelization throughout the land, was able, chiefly through speaking to the populace about the resurrection, to move their hearts and to suscitate numerous conversions, especially in the north of Basutoland and in certain parts of the Orange Free State. By mingling the supernatural with the practical, he made out, amongst other things, that he had gone through death ; that, whilst dead, he had been taken up to Heaven through innumerable worlds ; that an angel had then taught him to read and to write ; and that finally he had been allowed to appear before Moshesh, who had expressly charged him to return to earth and to call the Basutos in his name to become converted.

He had many other things to say and he had then already certain views as to the future, which he hid from the credulity of his audiences ; but later, when he

threw off the mask and wanted to establish a sect of which he would be the head, namely the sect of the "Followers of Moshesh", or another, that of the "Possessed of the Spirit", recruits for which he reckoned to get among those who had been converted through his appeal, and whose names he had carefully kept, it happened that the great majority of them refused to follow him, and they came to swell the ranks of our churches, "having given themselves up to God, not to a man".

Indirectly that man, who pretended to be one of us, and the movement he inaugurated, proved to be a magic stone for our Church at that critical time, for they made it possible for us to remain united and to victoriously resist an attack perfidiously launched against our work, even as deeply as the Native pastoral body, as we shall have occasion to see further on.

In spite of everything, it is a fact that, materially speaking, the whole of the period beginning and ending with the Great War has been, on the whole and especially from an economic point of view, a time of remarkable prosperity. At the beginning the crops were not bad and the price of grain was high ; but, above all, the Basutos were able to sell the wool of their sheep and of their goats without any break and at very good prices. As a matter of fact, such prosperity had never been known in the country ; the Basutos went through a real golden age and were even in a position to come to the aid of the wounded in the war by means of monies collected throughout their country. Consequently the Native Church (we are not speaking of the White missionaries who had remained at work and who

went through inevitable financial restrictions) hardly suffered at all during that crisis, and the *Seboka* even raised the annual contribution of the members of the Church from 5/- to 8/- at that time. But the same happened in Basutoland as everywhere else; largely owing to the war, improvidence and love of pleasure held sway over the world. After that period of prosperity, as thrift generally speaking was not a virtue practised by the Natives, the constant and rapid fall in prices brought Basutoland into the state of depression ruling everywhere at the time, and that had an inevitable repercussion on the progress of the work.

We have already made mention of the departure of numerous missionaries for the scene of war. Two of them did not return to Basutoland; Rev. Oechsner de Coninck (who had been temporarily sent by the Mission to the Cameroons and later accepted a parish in France) and Rev. J. Guiton who died in 1917 as a result of the war. Rev. G. Dieterlen and Mr Verdier returned later. To complete the list, we must mention here the death of Rev. Paul Germond in 1918. On the other hand, Rev. Matthey arrived in Basutoland in 1916 and was shortly afterwards placed at the head of the Normal School; whereas Rev. V. Ellenberger, whom family circumstances had compelled to leave the Zambesi Mission, was temporarily placed at Berea in 1918.

During that period the following ministers completed their studies at the Theological School and were available for the work, viz., Ph. Kheleli, A. Moshoeshoe, N. Seboka, V. Sekhesa, N. Mphatsoe and A. Monnapula, the latter of whom established the parish of Malingoaneng in 1916 among the Batlokoas, who were then

averse to the Gospel. It was during that awkward time that death claimed several of the Basuto ministers among whom there were some really striking personalities. The first of them passed away in January 1915; it was the minister of Maseru, Nikolas Mpiti, whose authority had continually increased in the difficult task which had been entrusted to him. April of the same year witnessed the death of Joel Ntsasa, a man of remarkable intelligence, of great gifts of oratory and of profound piety. Then followed Finease Matlanyane in June 1916 and finally in May 1917 Gustave Majara, only five years after his arrival at Pitseng, a station which he had founded.

The gaps left by these various deaths in the Mission and in the Church were far from being compensated by new elements. Once more Basutoland experienced the lack of personnel of which it had already suffered so much. We should mention here that in 1914 and again in 1917 the Synod of the churches of Basutoland met and its sittings proved once more that the Church was not yet ripe to direct its destiny by that means and that it was essential meanwhile to look for an intermediary body, provisionally better adapted to the conditions of an increasing Church.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Leselinyana, the Sesuto newspaper published by the Mission, was celebrated at Morija in February 1917.

During the whole of that period the schools continued to prosper. In 1914, in addition to the Director of Education, the Government appointed a Senior Inspector, (a European) and a second Mosuto Inspector. In 1918 the total number of pupils attending the schools

of the Mission was 21,725, an increase of 3,636 on the figures of 1914, and the Government subsidy for those schools was £12,750 (218,750 francs). Notwithstanding the precautions that had been taken at the time of the Spanish 'flu epidemic to protect the school children by closing the schools temporarily, that pest caused great ravages among the youth of the country, the proportion of the young who succumbed being far greater than that of the adults.

II

Consolidation of the ecclesiastical organisation (1918—1920)

We have stated above that experience had shown that the Synod was not sufficiently capable of taking into its hands the management of the Church. The missionaries had created the *Seboka* (or mixed Conference), where matters pertaining to the good conduct of the work were discussed annually. That *Seboka*, a comparatively restricted body, permitted of the useful discussion of the complicated questions which crop up daily in a great work and of the satisfactory settlement of delicate problems, without entering into discusions of insignificant details, as is inevitably the case in a more numerous body, especially when it is composed of elements still ill-prepared for a task of that kind.

But the real danger for the years ahead lay in the future relations of the *Seboka*, composed solely of ministers and of ordained missionaries, with the Synod, the majority of which represent the lay element of the Church.

The trial given to regional Synods not having proved a success, it was necessary to find, at least for the period which could be termed that of the growth of the Church, a means of conciliating the two points of view and of removing the spirit of clericalism from the

Church by giving to the lay element its legitimate share in the management of the work. There was no question of being able to attain that object by giving the pastoral delegation to this or that evangelist of particular merit. Nobody among the Natives could either have understood or approved of such a step, opining that it would be too dangerous for the Church, which was already shocked at the ease with which some of the renegades appropriated the designation of ministers of certain sects without any right to do so.

On the other hand, the very growth of the Church, whose parishes and out-stations were becoming increasingly numerous, brought more work every year for the *Seboka*, which was already burdened with multiple questions raised by the different Consistories, to say nothing of the reports on the progress of the work in each one of the parishes represented at its sittings, the reading of which alone occupied a considerable time.

Chiefly for these reasons, it was necessary for the management of the affairs of the Church to create a body which could sift the questions to be submitted to the *Seboka* and would give to the lay element its natural place in the managing council of the Church. There was the further advantage that, in sending to the *Seboka*, if it were possible, lay delegates, for instance, who would take their seats for a certain number of years side by side with the ministers and the missionaries, the churches would eventually and little by little succeed in forming in the country a lay element trained at the *Sehoka* school, which would be capable of taking an intelligent part in the discussion and conduct of affairs when the Synods were re-started.

From that time the Conference, aided by the Seboka, set to work and, chiefly through the energy of the missionaries Jacottet and Christeller, launched a scheme of a constitution which introduced a new body, which was styled the "Presbytery", into the Church of Basutoland. Somewhat similar to what is termed a "Circuit" in the Wesleyan Church, or a presbytery in the Presbyterian Church, the body thus created by the Church of Basutoland has no proper equivalent in our churches in Europe ; its nearest approach would be the circumscription Synod.

Basutoland was then, ecclesiastically speaking, divided into seven "Presbyteries", viz., those of Leribe, Thaba-Bosiu, Morija, Likhoele, Masitise, that of the Malutis and that of Matatiele (or Griqualand). Each one of those Presbyteries consisted of a given number of parishes, varying from four to six (on an average five), which were grouped under the authority of a president chosen by the Seboka Commission (Executive Commission) for four years. That president was assisted by two members (ordained ministers, White or Black, in charge of a parish, also chosen for four years by the ministers of the parishes forming the Presbytery. That was the Presbytery Commision. The Presbytery, which was the intermediary between the Consistory and the Seboka, had to be convoked by the President in ordinary session at least once a year. Each parish had to send to that meeting a given number of members, the number being in proportion to that of the members of the Church and determined annually by the Presbytery Commission.

In addition, and that is the interesting point, each of the Presbyteries of the Church of Basutoland sent two

lay members, evangelists or elders, to the annual meeting of the *Seboka*, those members being chosen for four years by the Presbytery Assembly. Those lay members had exactly the same rights at the *Seboka* as the missionaries and the ministers with whom they sat. The duties of the Presbytery were to deal with everything pertaining to the religious and school life of its circumscription ; that body even had the right to establish new schools or out-stations, the financing of which rested on the parishes as long as they had not been officially recognised by the *Seboka*. It also had to see that the different Consistories coming under it should apply the ecclesiastical rules correctly ; but it had no legislative power, that power being entirely in the hands of the *Seboka*. The president, who might be either a Native or a European, had, in principle, to visit each one of the parishes of his circumscription at least once a year ; he had to check the accounts, which had to go through that channel before being submitted to the *Seboka*, to which he also had to hand an annual report on his administration and on the progress of the work in the Presbytery at the head of which he stood. That meant that he had to condense into one, the different reports of the parishes which were submitted at the time of the annual meeting of the Presbytery. The duty also developed on him of seeing that the buildings of the Church and those of the schools were kept in good condition throughout his circumscription.

In theory, he should be relieved of all pastoral work proper so as to be in a position to attend to all those duties. But in practice he also had the management of his own parish, and his task was frequently a very heavy one.

The creation and the organisation of the Presbyteries was a great step forward for the Church of Basutoland, since it sent a strong lay contingent (fourteen members for the seven Presbyteries) to the *Seboka* every year. It meant the introduction of the direct representation of the Church in the management of the work. Much praise is due to the Native pastoral body for having at once fallen in with an arrangement which was giving to the laymen rights equal to those of the ordained ministers in the annual sittings of the Church. The danger of a clerical esprit de corps was now eliminated. That arrangement also made it possible to foresee the time when the number of European missionaries will have diminished considerably as a result of the development of the Native pastorate ; their work will then consist chiefly in supervising and in guiding the Church through the Presbyteries, no longer in a direct manner as heads of parishes, but only as counsellors or as ecclesiastical inspectors. The Presbyteries began to operate in 1922, and since then the Mission of Basutoland has only had occasion to congratulate itself on the establishment of that body. From a psychological point of view, it answers to a need in the mentality of the Natives ; it is in their eyes what the tribunal of the chief of the district is in relation to the court of the Paramount Chief.

In 1920 the missionaries thought of codifying the general statutes and the rules of the Church of Basutoland and of publishing them in a booklet which could be placed in the hands of all. Once more Revs. Jacottet and Christeller took a prominent part in the editing and compiling of that work. They were read in the *Seboka*

in session, article after article and adopted after discussion and modification. The part taken by the Native element in the discussions was very great, notably in the codification of the rules concerning customs specifically Basuto, and the Church of Basutoland can rightly claim that it has itself taken an essential part in the framing and even in the redaction of its own statutes through its representatives in the *Seboka*.

But from that time the danger long feared by the missionaries for the Basutos became apparent : they did not consider the spirit of the law so much as the letter itself, for what is in print acquires for them *ipso facto* a particular value.

For those who knew the conservative spirit and even the legalism of the Natives, there was good reason to hesitate before taking that step. And yet, taking everything into consideration, was it not better to do so and endow the Church with an element of undeniable unity and stability ? The common sense of the Basutos and their acute sense of anything pertaining to legal questtions triumphed over that danger in the long run, thereby justifying the action of their spiritual leaders. There again there had been cause for gratitude in realising a progress in the Church towards greater spiritual maturity.

That encouragement was necessary, for an event happened at that time in the *Seboka* which could have had grave consequences for the Church of Basutoland and for the Mission. In 1920 there were complaints against the minister of Popa, Azael Buti, on the part of his Church, which, being unable to obtain any redress from him, addressed itself directly to the *Seboka*

(the Presbytery did not exist as yet), and lodged a complaint against its minister. The chief source of grievance was the exceedingly great indulgence of that minister towards two of his children whose moral conduct had left much to be desired. Notwithstanding the effors of the *Seboka* Commission and of the *Seboka* itself, and despite the tears of his old colleague Everitt Segoete among others, Buti refused to depart in any way from his line of conduct and chose to leave the pastoral body rather than to give way. He was the first Mosuto minister to break away from the *Seboka* of his own free will.

Shortly afterwards, Buti, did not scruple to turn against the Church which had trained him and he joined hands with Matita, whom we have mentioned previously. The plan of those renegades was to establish a school, said to be for theology, near Berea, where ministers would be trained in the interests of their sect for the future church of the "Possessed of the Spirit" (or of Moshesh), which church, they declared, would take the place of the "Fora" Church in Basutoland. (1)

Like every movement of that kind wanting in a martyr to make it survive, this one resulted in but a flare-up. Once again the spirit of moderation and the good sense of the Basutos prevailed. Buti had to close his ephemeral school, to retire to his village, and Matita departed for the north of Basutoland, where he still had a few adherents.

All the same, the alarm had been sounded and at the beginning at any rate, it had been rather difficult to foresee what turn that affair would take.

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(1) Fora Church means French Protestant Church. (Translator)

The ministers of the first generation were becoming old ; several of those of the second generation were dead and those of the following generation seemed to be shaping slowly. For that reason there was at that time in the pastorate an ungrateful (if we may use the term) period, which made it necessary to allow the younger elements to become better incorporated with the *Seboka* and to become completely assimilated. The head of the Theological School was certainly not the last to notice a change. Was it due to the consequences of the war, or to a too hasty admission of recruits ? God allowed it to be, but also permitted that no dire consequences should result from it for the Church. In fact it was a blessing, for the population was increasing and the Church needed all its forces more than ever. Basutoland numbered already at that time close on 500,000 souls. However paradoxical it may sound, we may say that as a result of that increase in the population, either in a natural way or by immigration, the number of heathens was now much larger in Basutoland than it had ever been ! The task was therefore as great as ever in spite of the road covered (1), and Basutoland remained a ground for Mission work as much as in the past. In addition to preoccupations from outside, to all the worries which the results of the war brought about in the country and to an extreme shortage in the personnel of the Mission, the work was yet destined to face a new crisis.

The year 1920 witnessed the death of two pensioners, viz. Rev. Aug. Jaques, who had been compelled

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(1) In fact the proportion of the converts in relation to the total population was continually increasing.

through ill health to abandon the work at Qalo, to which, as we have seen, he had given such a new impulse, and Rev. D. F. Ellenberger, the old missionary of Masitise, whom death seized before he had finished the writing of that "History of the Basutos" of which only the first part had then been published.

Rev.Ed. Jacottet died suddenly at Morija in December of the same year. That death, added to the departure of Rev. H. Dieterlen for Europe in 1919, deprived the Mission of indispensable leaders, men of authority and of precious experience, by whose services the Mission could so well have profited much longer. The blow was a severe one and the work was shaken thereby. How were such personalities to be replaced ? How especially could the blank so suddenly left in all domains by the death of Rev. Jacottet be compensated ? He has without doubt been one of the greatest missionaries of our Society, a man whose deserved reputation had spread far beyond the limits of his activities and thanks to whom the country as well as the Mission have benefited by sure and safe counsels. He discerned the true interests of the nation, which always listened to him and which he could at the same time counsel, advise and protect. His knowledge of the Basutos was equalled only by his vigilance in defending and safeguarding their rights. He was a great inspirer and animater of men. Although outwardly prone at times to hurt, for he was a fighter, inwardly there lay in him a burning flame and a passionate curiosity for everything that was human, for the mind, for the heart, for the language itself of those Basutos whom he loved and who all respected him. They owed to him many school books, among others one on the

history of their country and on the history of South Africa ; it was he also who, after Rev. Casalis and Rev. F. H. Krüger, enabled them, through his excellent grammar, to become acquainted with the genius of their language. His was possibly the best organised brain that the Mission ever possessed and he put that gift of God to practical use for the good of his adopted people. The disappearance from the scene of such an outstanding man could not but leave a tremendous gap.

The return of Revs. Alf. Casalis and Pascal and the arrival of Mr J. Zurcher, who had come to take charge of the Printing Works at Morija, brought only a feeble compensation, numerically speaking, for those losses.

For several months after the death of Rev. Jacottet, the Theological School was closed ; the ministers Az. Mohapi, Mikea Majara, S. Mojakisane, E. Monokoa, Mahiritona, J. Mofubelu, Khabele and Mosaase were completing their studies at that time. When it was reopened it was entrusted to Rev. Bertschy, who had been transferred from Hermon for that purpose. Shortly after, the Conference decided to pass that parish of Hermon over to the Native Church, and the minister Segoete was placed in charge of it. The Koeneng Church, rendered vacant by that transfer, was then entrusted to the minister Philip Kheleli, who had had charge of the parish of Masitise whilst Rev. Pascal was in Europe on furlough. At his own request, Rev. Matthey left the Normal School to take charge of the parish of Qalo, while Rev. G. Dieterlen was placed at Berea and Rev. V. Ellenberger at Leribe. The Native minister V. Sekhesa, under whose supervision the latter church had been in the absence of a European missionary, went to occupy

the parish of Pitseng, rendered vacant by the resignation of Abia Moshoeshoe.

In spite of the efforts of certain opponents of the Mission, the work was not stopped in its march forward : in 1920 the Church numbered 33 parishes, of which 12 were under the charge of Europeans and 21 under that of Basutos, and there were 316 out-stations and 382 schools. It employed 746 teachers and 323 evangelists. There were 23,415 pupils in the schools of the Mission, that is an increase of 1,690 scholars in two years. The Church contributions and the collections for the work amounted to £8,092.11.3½d. and the Government subsidies for the schools, to £14,369. Mention should here be made of the death in 1920, of the evangelist Eliakime Matlanyane, after a long and faithful ministry. It was he who had accompanied and assisted Rev. Berthoud at the time of the journey which culminated in the establishment of the Swiss Mission in South Africa. . We might also mention the voyage undertaken in 1919 by the Paramount Chief Griffith to England, from which he returned in December 1919.

Let us add that the feast of Moshesh was instituted and officially celebrated for the first time in Basutoland on the 12th March 1920 in commemoration of the date on which that chief begged for the Queen's protection for his country.

III

New course given to the education of the Basutos — repercussions of the World crisis (1920—1928)

Shortly after the important report made by Mr. Sargant in 1905 on education in Basutoland and on his recommendation, the Government had appointed as Director of Education in Basutoland Mr. F. H. Dutton, a man specially qualified for that work, with instructions to watch and unify the educational work of the three missionary bodies recognised by the Administration.

At the beginning, that brought no changes of any importance in the general trend of affairs. The subsidies continued to be granted to the Missions for their work in connection with the schools, and the Missions remained the principal agent of education in the Territory. The Director of Education, who at that time combined the same post for the Native reserves of Swaziland and Bechuanaland, visited the schools during the short time remaining at his disposal after his office work. He had at that time only one Native inspector to assist him.

In 1909 a great step forward had been taken, as we have seen, by the creation of a central Consultative

Committee for Education. The origin of that body is due to a private meeting held at Morija, of representatives of the chief Missions, which had been called together, among other reasons, to decide on an educational programme which would be common to all. It is mostly from that time that the close cooperation and the collaboration of the Government and the missionaries date, a factor which is still at the present time one of the characteristics of the whole system of education in Basutoland. A little later, as we have already stated, each Mission nominated its accredited representative to the Government for school matters, the Secretary for Schools.

The thirst for education continued to increase in the country and the schools multiplied and developed. The problem of the direction which the education of the Basutos should take now became very important. It was necessary for the Administration to co-ordinate everything into one system and in that way to put an end to the various and sometimes divergent methods prevailing. It was also desirable for it to control the preparation of the studies better and to watch their results.

Events in that direction were precipitated by the arrival in Basutoland of a new Resident Commissioner, Mr. Sturrock (1), a man who was particularly qualified and interested in educational matters and who imparted to the Administration his lively interest in all those questions.

A professional man, Mr. Urling Smith, was specially brought from Nigeria to enquire into the whole question.

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(1) John Christian Ramsay Sturrock, C.M.G. (1927), knighted (K.C.B.) 1934. (Translator).

His report, which appeared in 1926, presented proposals and recommendations most of which were accepted by the different Missions after due consideration,and which brought about a considerable change in the educational system among the Basutos and even in its orientation.

We cannot here enter into details. Suffice it to say that the Government, as in the past, left primary education (village schools, we might say) in the hands of the Missions established in the country, while supervising them and granting them subsidies. On the other hand, something new, higher primary education, (that is that imparted in the more advanced of the primary schools) was now to be centralised in what was termed "middle schools" or "intermediate schools", a limited number of which was granted to the three Missions in proportion to the respective total number of their scholars. Those schools were to be established by preference in known centres, stations or headquarters of parishes, and after an examination, the pupils coming from the primary schools proper were grouped in them into three higher classes.

The Administration abolished all school fees, except in the secondary schools. It further reserved the right not only to establish intermediate schools managed entirely by itself when funds permitted, (it founded two and then three straight away), but it declared its intention then already, of taking back from the missionaries in the future all intermediate schools when it had the means to do so. In that way it made provision for the future in foreseeing the time when the higher primary education of the Basutos, tending still higher, would pass entirely into its hands.

The Government also undertook the setting and the correction of the examination papers of certain classes of the primary and of the intermediate schools. The erection and the maintenance of the school buildings were left, as in the past, in the hands of the missionaries. Those reforms were bound to occasion fairly heavy costs for the Mission in order to adapt itself to the new syllabus and especially in view of the influx of pupils who were now to be centred in those intermediate schools.

As for the secondary education itself, given in Basutoland by the Mission schools established for that purpose for boys and girls, the Government intervened only indirectly, but in such a way that it made it practically compulsory for future teachers to have gone through schools recognised by it.

Soon afterwards, the Government took another step forward in the domain of the education of the Basutos and took a precautionary measure which it imposed upon the tribe by a peremptory measure in 1927, one year after the publication of the Report of Mr. Smith. The Government submitted to the National Council of the Basutos and caused it to accept a plan bringing into being the immediate establishment of a special educational fund meant to guard against unforeseen circumstances and to ensure the safe progress of the educational system of the country by creating a reserve fund for it. It was decided that that fund should be fed by two distinct sources of revenue, first by levy of a quarter of the round sum produced by the tax, which levied sum would be paid in full into that fund ; and also, and it is here that that measure may appear to be somewhat harsh, by an additional tax of three shillings per head,

payable annually by all those liable to pay the tax ; that supplementary tax was to be compulsory, to be utilised entirely for educational purposes and paid in full into the reserve fund of the Native education.

When one thinks that, after all, in Basutoland there is hardly any other education but that given by the Missions, that the major portion of the population is still heathen, and that consequently a large number, no doubt the majority, of those taxed are heathens attached to their ancestral customs and little anxious therefore to worry about the education brought into the country by the White people, one cannot but admire the spirit of discipline which prompted the National Council, in which the heathen element is still predominating, to adopt such a measure. That attitude makes it possible to realise the progress made since the beginning of the Mission and to understand the attraction, we might almost say the fascination, which education exercises on the more enlightened portion of the population. Indirectly, that arrangement has helped the efforts of the Mission, in whose schools the Bible officially forms part of the ordinary syllabus. It was also, by parallel, a serious blow to the heathen initiation schools.

The importance of that measure can be realised when it is stated that in 1925 there were 42,352 pupils with an average attendance of 30,005 in the schools of the three Missions officially recognised by the Administration. Three years later the number had increased to 46,245 pupils, with an average attendance of 34,330 ; and the number increased year by year. In the same year a new system of classification of schools was adopted and the general syllabus of studies was completely revised.

The development of the schools had brought about the establishment of a Secretary for Schools Office. The post of Secretary had been held for many long years by one of the European missionaries in addition to his ordinary work. It soon became impossible to continue in that way, and the Mission was compelled, in agreement with the managing committee, to create a special post of Secretary for Schools ; the first occupant of that post (in 1929) was Rev. Henrioud, a missionary who came from the Swiss Mission of South Africa.

By taking that step the Mission showed once more the great interest which it took in the progress of education in its schools.

It was also during that period that the teaching of the kindergarten methods was organised at Thabana-Morena on the initiative of Rev. Louis Germond, a branch of education which met with the greatest success and provided the country with an excellent means of education for the smaller children, by furnishing women teachers specially trained for that work. There again the Mission was in the vanguard. Shortly afterwards, in 1925, a new institution for young girls, viz. the Practical and Housecraft School of Cana, was established in the north of Basutoland. It was intended to train the young Native girl to hold a place worthy of herself in the home and in society, by giving her an extensive practical knowledge of all that is expected of her, as much for herself as a spinster, as for her husband and her children in the future.

That school was entrusted to Mrs. R. H. Dyke, who was assisted in its management by Miss de la Perrelle (who was succeeded by Miss Bowie at Thabana-

Morena) and by a Mosuto female teacher. The steps taken for the foundation of that school at Cana, as well as the erection of a fine cut stone building for the Intermediate School of the station, were among the last efforts of Rev. Jeanmairet, who after a long and faithful ministry at the Zambesi and in Basutoland, took his pension in 1924.

With the departure of Rev. S. Duby in 1921, the return of Rev. Alf. Casalis to Europe in 1926 and that of Rev. Colin in 1924, as well as the death of Rev. Matthey in 1921, the Mission lost men of experience, and their replacement was taking place so slowly that it was then already easy to foresee a grave crisis in the near future as far as the personnel was concerned. That personnel was increased, however, in 1921 by the arrival of Rev. G. Pons, whose health did not permit of his remaining at the Zambesi, and the re-entry of Rev. Ernest Mabille into the service of the Mission, as well as by the arrival of Rev. J. Ramseyer and Rev. M. Debard in 1924.

Rev. E Mabille was placed at the head of the Normal School ; Rev. Pons succeeded Rev. Matthey at Qalo, and later, in 1925, took over the management of the Bible School on the departure of Rev. Casalis. He was succeeded at Qalo by Rev. J. Ramseyer. After having been at Likhoele for some time, Rev. Debard was placed in charge of the Masitise station when Rev. Pascal left for Europe for good in 1928. Rev. G. Dieterlen was placed in charge of Thaba-Bosiu, from where he supervised matters at Berea, which latter station was later entrusted to the minister Ntoampe. Another candidate, Mahiritona, from the Theological School, was in charge

of the Mpharane station, in Griqualand, for a short time, wheras in 1921, Rev. Moreillon left Paballong to take up his residence in Johannesburg, where shortly afterwards the Mission definitely started the work with which we shall deal in the next chapter. In 1925 Rev. Moreillon came back to take charge of the Cana station, which had been vacant since the departure of Rev. Jeanmairet. On the 5th of November 1922, the commemoration of the centenary Jubile of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society took place in the whole of Basutoland, and thanksgiving services were held in all the parishes. In 1925 a delegation of the Paris Committee, consisting of Revs. Couve and Siordet, visited the Mission work of the Zambesi and of Basutoland, and brought great comfort and precious encouragement to the Mission and to the Church of Basutoland by their presence and by the communicative warmth of their faith.

So far as the Native pastorate is concerned, that period witnessed the death and the retirement of the two Native ministers who remained over from the first generation. Carlisle Motebang, the first Mosuto who was ever ordained, and who was minister at Peka, died in 1926. In 1925, Job Moteane retired and settled down in the Malutis, of which he had been the first minister. Of the workers of the first period the only one remaining at work was John Mohapeloa. During that period, the Theological School gave to the Church the ministers A. Lefatle, H. Jankie, Mohase and Macdonald Mabote, and thus made it possible to establish the new parishes of Senqunyane in 1920, Mantsonyane in 1924 and Qomoqomong in 1924, all of them in the mountains.

The feast of the Reformation was celebrated in Basutoland in 1924. This enabled the Basutos, who had been worked upon by a pervading propaganda, to better understand what the Church owes to the Reformation and through it to God's Word. It was partly on account of that propaganda, but chiefly on account of the parishes in the mountains being so isolated, that periodical visits and the methodical inspection of the work in the Malutis were taken up again by European missionaries and Native ministers simultaneously. That was the prelude to a development to which reference will be made latter.

The world economic crisis was at this time beginning to make itself felt in Basutoland and brought about financial difficulties which affected the resources of the Basutos, who saw the purchase price of wool fall to practically nothing and the value of their agricultural products come down to the very lowest.

Notwithstanding that, the Church contributions and the collections for the work amounted to £7,590 in 1928. In spite of the collection that had been taken for several years already to assist the Central Chest, the position of that fund began to grow worse and worse and to cause anxiety concerning the progress of the Native Church. The salaries of the Basuto ministers and evangelists were naturally affected. That period was indeed a critical time of great trial for the whole of the Church of Basutoland.

Yet the activity of the large schools was maintained, except perhaps in the case of the Bible School, which was undergoing a crisis prior to rising again owing to the new methods employed under the guidance of Rev.

Pons. The Printing Works were also progressing and were able to obtain the precious acquisition of a monotype machine, which greatly facilitated the work. The Book Depot was also active and had now for sale also a history of the people of Israel by Rev. A. Casalis as well as interesting books written by Natives, particularly by Thomas Mofolo, whose book "*Chaka*", published in 1925, brought out still more prominently the undoubted talent already exhibited by him in the "*Pilgrim to the East*," and in "*Pitseng*." "*Chaka*" was translated into English a few years later and thus helped to make the Basutos and the Mission which saved and educated them, better known. Mention should also be made of the official tour made in South Africa in 1925 by the Prince of Wales, and particularly of his visit to the Basutos, whom he met at Maseru.

It is not surprising that, morally speaking, the after-effects of the war should have made themselves felt among the Basutos, for that is the time when the awakening of which we spoke earlier began among the Bantus. Their minds became more apt to criticise freely the management of the affairs of the nation, either in the Native papers of the country, like the *Mochochonono*, or in other ways. When occasion arose they were able to substantiate their arguments by giving precise data, citing the chapter and even the paragraph of a convention or agreement made years before. Their criticisms were not levelled at the Europeans alone; they were also pointedly directed against the Paramount Chief himself and his highly placed subordinates. The people complained of exaction and also that there was no longer any justice

in the Native courts, or rather that which remained of them was corrupt.

A Basutos "Association for Progress" was then formed in the country under the leadership of a certain Simon Phamotse, who led his campaign so vigorously that it necessitated the calling of a meeting of the high dignitaries of the country at the Paramount Chief's in February 1922, and after that, of a personal interview, which, however, bore practically no fruit. In addition to that, an association or union called Industrial and Commercial, (I.C.U.) was formed in the Union of South Africa. That Union had Bolshevist tendencies, at the outset at any rate, and had numerous ramifications and followers in Basutoland as well.

At about the same time an association with the same, but more exaggerated, tendencies was formed in Basutoland itself under the name of the "Council of the Unfortunates" (Lekhotla la bafo) which, although not very important, yet drew to its ranks a certain number of adherents dissatisfied with everything. All that was symptomatic of the effects of the war on the Natives, effects which we have endeavoured to describe elsewhere, and on to which was grafted the economic crisis which even civilised people find difficult to understand and which was absolutely mysterious to the Basutos, who cannot grasp the causes of the rise or fall of the exchange, any more than the reasons why there should no longer be sufficient work for all. From a religious point of view, we have already mentioned the attempt made by Matita to establish a sect with himself at its head. Another attempt, which could have become far more serious in many respects, was the agitation caused by a certain

Edward, prophet and healer, who posed in the north of Basutoland as the Christ Himself returned in the form of a Native, and whose modes of action, especially political, added to a notorious immorality, resulted in his being officially expelled from the territory. Drunkenness recrudescent in spite of the efforts of the Mission, was possibly also responsible to some extent at that time for the deviations of some of the people from the right path.

IV

Concentration and expansion (1924—1933)

As we have already seen, some Basuto clans had established themselves to the south of the Drakensberg in Griqualand East in 1866 and 1867. It appeared as if a new Basutoland was in the course of formation there, and our Mission, which could not sever its connection with those people, who claimed to be of its fold, had placed there two Basuto catechists (after a journey undertaken by Rev. Paul Germond for special studies) pending the day when it would be possible to do more. In 1875 Mr. Preen and in 1877 Rev. Christmann established the Griqualand Mission work by founding the stations of Matatiele and of Paballong.

What had made it possible for the Mission to undertake that new work was the fact that the stations which it had in the Orange Free State had been either taken away from it or destroyed, nearly all of them during the disastrous war to which we have referred elsewhere, and that the Mission had resolved after the treaty of 1869 to direct all its efforts on Basutoland itself and to occupy it in its entirety, thereby giving to the work more cohesion and unity than before.

Directly after the Great War the Mission realised that it should make a new effort to centralise and that it should definitely abandon Griqualand. Several reasons

made that step necessary. The practically free country which the Mission occupied on the other side of the Malutis in 1867 had little by little been occupied by White colonists who had divided it into farms, and experience showed that in that country, which now formed an integral part of the Cape Province, the White element would grow more and more and would force its methods on the Black population, whether it were in the domain of laws and of justice or in that of the schools, thereby bringing into the work of the Mission two very different régimes, namely, that of Griqualand on the one side and that of Basutoland on the other. The Black inhabitants of Griqualand could not, therefore, hope to progress as freely in the net by which they were held as the Basutos could in their territory. Besides, the population of Basutoland was growing incessantly, without the Mission being able to extend its activities to the many new settlements ; and finally, the question of the growing emigration of the Basutos to the mines, opened up the problem of the Mission's responsibility towards them.

The departure of Rev. Moreillon in 1920, coming on the top of the shortage in the personnel, precipitated matters ; Paballong and shortly afterwards Mpharane, were closed. Matatiele had not been occupied for a long time except as an out-station and had, in fact, been replaced by Mafube, which was also closed in 1926, when Rev. Paul Ramseyer left for Europe. We have stated that those stations were closed ; we should rather have said that they had been transferred, for our work in Griqualand was not abandoned by us. In full agreement with the Church of Basutoland (*Seboka*) and with

the interested population, the Mission, before retiring, concluded an arrangement with our brethren of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, by which the work in Griqualand was entrusted and passed over to them entirely. Notwithstanding the rumours circulated in certain quarters, the work was not abandoned nor passed over for any pecuniary compensation. The Mission purely and simply ceded its rights and its obligations to a sister Mission by means of a perfectly disinterested agreement.

Once more the Mission was concentrating its work, and outside the political boundaries of Basutoland we now had only two or three small posts (out-stations and schools) established formerly by Rev. D. F. Ellenberger in the Cape Province on the outskirts of the parish of Masitise. But history repeats itself ; in 1869 the Mission had closed its Mekuatleng, Poortjie, Hebron and Carmel stations in order to concentrate its efforts on Basutoland proper ; but it undertook the work in Griqualand. In 1926 the Mission retired from Griqualand for similar reasons, and almost immediately started work on the Rand (Johannesburg) in the Transvaal. The appeals of expatriated Basutos have always found in the Mission and in the Church of Basutoland an echo and a response which rebound to its honour. The founding of such a work at such a time was certainly an act of faith, as well as a manifestation of the power of the apostolic spirit which is latent in every Church in which there is life.

The discovery of the Kimberley diamond fields and then of the gold fields of the Witwatersrand, (the Rand, as it is called) had brought about, as we have seen,

especially when Johannesburg was founded in 1885, an increasingly active traffic between Basutoland (to speak only of the country with which we are concerned) and that centre. Little by little, as more and more shafts were sunk for the extraction of the gold on a chain extending some 150 kilometres (1) in length, shafts which, in some cases, have reached a depth of over 2,000 metres (2), and as the need for manual labour for that gigantic undertaking made itself increasingly felt, so also the migration of the Blacks to that centre of work and of pleasure became more intense.

After an unfortunate attempt at using Chinese labour, associations were formed to recruit Native labour from all the various tribes of South Africa, with the result that very soon the Black population of the "Golden City" amounted to over two hundred thousand souls, that is approximately the same as its White population. Of that vast number of Native labourers, the greater portion are recruited exclusively for the mines, where they bind themselves under contract for whatever number of months of consecutive work they may desire. They are then lodged and fed in enormous barracks called compounds (quarters). From a material point of view they have, as a rule, but little to complain of, but from a moral and spiritual point of view, they live in unhealthy promiscuity and are a prey to the worst temptations. It is not surprising that they lose their balance rapidly, become detribalised and that, uprooted as they are, they are dragged into all kinds of evil and the worst vices. On their return to their homes at the expiration

(1) Approximately 93 miles. (Translator)
(2) 6,560 feet. (Translator)

of their contracts, they find themselves strangers in their own country ; frequently they no longer have any inclination for the rough work of the fields ; they are now only demi-tillers of land and many of them soon leave again for the great city, where they can earn money and have plenty of gaiety without its being talked about, leaving behind their wives and children, who in many cases will not see them again for many a long day and will suffer accordingly. It is the same phenomenon as is happening elsewhere, but in a different form, the abandonment of the country for the town. As for the wives or sisters who desire to join the men in that human beehive, they are exposed to the worst moral dangers.

The Basutos from the country of Moshesh proper numbered over 25,000 on the Rand up to 1922. Their spiritual needs had been entrusted by the Mission to the Dutch Reformed Church Mission. But, whether it was due to their latent antagonism to anything pertaining to that Church and to the people attached to it, or to their natural indolence, or to spiritual lassitude, the fact remained that the Basutos on the Rand attended the services of the Dutch Mission badly. The result of the enquiry which Rev. Moreillon was delegated to institute in connection with the matter in 1922 fully convinced the Church of Basutoland that it was its duty to bring the Gospel of grace directly and through its own efforts, to the Basutos who were engaged on the gold mines, and not to delay that work of preservation for those who were already Christians, and of conversion for those whom isolation and distaste of vice rendered more accessible. In other words, the Church of Basutoland meant to undertake the evangelization of the male youth, re-

fractory in its own land, at a place where it would evidently be more approachable because more isolated.

To occupy the Rand was in reality to evangelize Basutoland. Experience has proved that that view was correct. The work on the Rand was definitely established in 1924. A White missionary was sent to Johannesburg, and, pending the time when it would be in a position to send him one or more Native ministers, the Church of Basutoland supplied him with such catechists as the extension of the work warranted. In 1930, that is only six years after its foundation, the Rand Mission work already had four out-stations under the care of catechists who had been chosen with great care in Basutoland. Its Church numbered 125 communicants and 195 catechumens, and in addition, work had been begun by it among the women, under the supervision of a European visiting lady.

Provision was made by the Paris Committee for the head of that work, whereas the Church of Basutoland provided for its members. The church contributions made in Johannesburg by the Christians who had come from Basutoland, were divided into two equal portions, one of which was apportioned to the local work and the other to the Church of Basutoland. Besides that, a collection was made yearly in all the parishes in Basutoland for the work of the Rand, for the purpose of paying the evangelists who were on the spot or for the erection of church buildings in close proximity to the compounds. Rev. René Ellenberger, a missionary of the Gaboon, who was then in South Africa and whose services were disponible, was removed from the Bible School at Morija, where he had worked provisionally for a year

in collaboration with Rev. A. Casalis, and, owing to his gifts and abilities and his knowledge of the Basutos, was entrusted with the task of setting the work going on the Rand. When the work had been established, Rev. Ellenberger, whose activities were required in a different sphere, retired, and the work was entrusted in 1926 to Rev. Louis Mabille, who had been taken from Likhoele for that purpose. The thanks of the Mission of Basutoland are due to the Swiss Mission of South Africa, which never ceased to help our work on the Rand during the whole period of its inception, more particularly in granting it the use of its church buildings.

We should here mention the pourparlers which took place at that period (1927—1928) between the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the Church of Basutoland with a view to an eventual collaboration in Basutoland, but which came to nothing, chiefly owing to the fact that the feelings of the Basutos against the Boers had not yet toned down sufficiently to allow of that Church being able to do any really useful work in the country.

Meanwhile, the population of Basutoland was still increasing. According to the census of 1921, it numbered 498,781 souls, that is an increase of 94,274 inhabitants in ten years. It occupied the higher plateaus more and more and even the slopes of the highest mountain chains of the Malutis. The region which was becoming populated so rapidly represents four fifths of the surface of the whole country, and to serve the Malutis the Mission had only a few parishes, far too isolated and distant from one another, under the charge of Native ministers.

We have already mentioned that the necessity had been felt for some years of having that immense stretch of land visited by European missionaries, partly with a view to relieving the Native ministers of their acute feeling of moral solitude, and partly, in fact chiefly, to show the population of those high plateaus that their European missionaries were not forgetful of them. And truly they might have become discouraged had they been left to believe the rumours which were being circulated in that part of the country, that the French Church was about to abandon its Mission and was on the eve of leaving Basutoland, never to return again.

The insistent requests of the population of the Malutis that European Protestant missionaries should come to live in their midst, caused the Mission to give the question its serious consideration. And thus, in agreement with the *Seboka*, which was interested in an eventual redistribution of the parishes in the mountains, it decided to establish a station with a European missionary in the very centre of the Malutis, at Mohlanapeng, not far from the Native station of Sehonghong.

The activities of the missionary in those parts were intended to be chiefly of an itinerant nature. The result of that appeal was that the Committee sent the missionary Henri Mabille and his wife without delay, who were expressly taken from the Gaboon Mission where they laboured, to found the station in the Malutis and to undertake the management of the work in the high mountains. They were accompanied by Miss H. Roser, a certificated nurse, who was specially deputed to begin a work among the women and the young girls at Mohlanapeng, together with the missionary's wife.

And thus it was that in the course of a few years the Church of Basutoland, guided by its missionaries, undertook two splendid works, the extent of which cannot be measured as yet, but whose results will be felt before long.

Truly it was an expansion full of life and fecundity, following upon concentration, and it happened at a time when it might have been thought that the workers would have been reduced to despair by the deaths which succeeded one another and the depression which might have been caused thereby.

During the first hundred years of its existence, the Mission in Basutoland has passed through many crises, as we have seen, but the one which it had to face during the period from 1920 to 1930 was not amongst the least serious. Owing to a misunderstanding caused in Europe probably by the very fact of the development of the Native pastorate, and by the open criticisms of the object of the Mission to grant autonomy to the Native Church at the earliest possible date, the churches in Europe hesitated to send missionaries to Basutoland. In addition, men were indispensably required in other fields of activity of the Mission Society, such as those where the soil had yet to be ploughed or where it was imperative to safeguard a work whose existence was threatened. Owing to that, and perhaps for other reasons, the sending of missionaries to Basutoland had been neglected, and little by little its personnel had become reduced to extremes. A series of events precipitated the crisis. Rev. Pascal had returned to Europe, and Rev. H. Bertschy retired on pension in 1927 and died shortly afterwards in Europe. On the departure of Rev. Jeanmairet,

Rev. Moreillon had been chosen to take charge of the station of Cana, thus rendered vacant; but he also retired from Basutoland in 1928. Rev. E. Mabille, head of the Normal School, died in 1929 and in the same year death claimed Rev. Paul Ramseyer at Likhoele. At that time Revs. Christeller, G. Dieterlen and V. Ellenberger were on furlough in Europe. Thus only three missionaries in charge of parishes remained at work, viz., Revs. J. Ramseyer at Qalo, L. Germond at Thaba-na-Morena and Debard at Masitise, without counting the missionaries at the head of the various institutions. Only three missionaries (four with Rev. L. Mabille in Johannesburg) to manage such a complex work at a moment when the Roman Catholic Church was making a great effort to draw the tribe to it by placing itself like the future before what might indeed seem like a thing of the past!

The French-speaking churches, as we have said, realised the danger which the work ran, and thank God, the Committee was able to add to the missionaries who were returning from their leave, Mr Burton in 1928, Rev. Eric Labarthe in 1929, A. Atger and H. Mabille as well as Miss Roser in 1930, and E. Baccuet in 1931, whereas Rev. Ed. Bezencon, whose state of health had compelled his leaving Maphutseng in 1927 to return to Europe, was also able to come back to the work in 1932.

Mr Burton, who at first was vice-principal of the Normal School, took charge of the school at the death of Rev. E. Mabille. Rev. Labarthe was stationed first at Likhoele and subsequently at Maphutseng. After a short stay at Thaba-Bosiu, Rev. Atger was sent to Likhoele. Rev. H. Mabille made his initial stay at Leribe

and remained for some time at Cana before being able to go up to the mountains to take up his residence there, as difficulties had arisen in regard to the site of the new station in the Malutis. In 1931 Rev. L. Germond, who had reached pensionable age, retired from the Mission after a long and faithful ministry, and Thabana-Morena thus remained without a missionary

In 1932 the Conference of the missionaries in Basutoland decided to place a European missionary at Morija again, a post which had been provisionally filled with tact and distinction for several years by the Native minister Lefatle. Rev. G. Dieterlen was chosen for that post. Rev. J. Ramseyer then left Qalo for Thaba-Bosiu and was succeeded by Rev. Baccuet. Rev. Bezencon occupied Cana, which had been vacant since 1928, whereas the station of the Sebapala was ceded back to the Mission by the *Seboka* at the request of the Conference, in exchange for Berea, which was definitely made over to the Church of Basutoland.

It appeared as if the Mission could at last start progressing again after the rude shaking which it had undergone. Rarely had such an alarm been sounded, and that crisis showed clearly the necessity for the Mission to keep its positions for the time being, without seeking to bring about too rapid a reduction. The gratitude of the Native Church at seeing the arrival of the helpers sent by the Committee and at no longer feeling almost like an orphan, particularly in view of the offensive of the Roman Catholic Church, was an indication and a proof of it.

Conditions had indeed greatly altered, and the position of Protestantism in Basutoland was being serious-

ly disputed. It was at that time that a transformation took place in the Roman Catholic Mission. Up to then it had been served by priests who had come from France (the Oblates of the Immaculate Mary); but from now on, owing to pressure of circumstances, it was going to bring its recruits almost exclusively from Canada. Young and active men were coming into Basutoland in large numbers, assisted by no less numerous sisters, and buildings made of fine cut stone were being erected in many places in the country, frequently in close proximity to our posts. Under the management of an active School Secretary, the number of new Roman Catholic schools established increased greatly and chiefs and their Catholic wives were made use of to agitate in their favour. The Paramount Chief Griffith, himself, had been a Catholic for some years. The results obtained bear testimony to the activity displayed by the Roman Catholic Church during that period. Its Mission in Basutoland was founded in 1862 ; at the end of 1932 it had 27 central stations in charge of European priests, who to-day number 40. According to its statistics, it had then between 60,000 and 65,000 baptised members (including children of all ages) and from 14,000 to 15,000 catechumens, whose minimum period of preparation is two years. The number of out-stations which had to be visited regularly by the priests was a little over 200. The Congregation of the Oblates of the Immaculate Mary, established in France at the beginning of last century, draws its members from all over Europe and America, Canada and the United States and is thus divided into provinces more or less according to nationalities. The fact that Canada suffered less than the

"provinces" of Europe during the Great War accounts for the missionary vocations there having been less retarded than elsewhere and explains why, since that war, the new priests came chiefly from Canada. The organisation is nevertheless that of the Congregation of the Oblates, the centre of which is in Rome.

There were also in Basutoland eighteen brethren of the Congregation of the Oblates whose chief occupation was the material work and there were at Roma six brethren of the Marists, who were engaged solely in educational work.

Their work among the women is always in the hands of the sisters, members of the Congregation of the Holy Family of Bordeaux, sisters of the Menzingen Cross (in Switzerland), sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary (of Montreal, Canada) and the Grey Sisters of the Cross, of Ottawa, Canada. They numbered in all 160, of whom 85 were White and 75 were Natives. At the end of 1932 there were some forty young men preparing for the priesthood at the Seminary of Roma. There was then but one Mosuto priest in the ministry. As every young Catholic man must take the vow of perpetual celibacy before he can become a priest, it can easily be understood that that is no small obstacle for a Mosuto to surmount. There were at that time 240 schools attended by 13,444 children, in fact some 15,000, if we count the schools which did not yet receive subsidies. The Government subsidies for the Roman Catholic Schools amounted to £10,345. That Mission had 295 male teachers, of whom six were European brethren and 111 female teachers, of whom some 50 were sisters either from Europe or from Canada.

Notwithstanding these fine figures, the Roman Catholic schools have never, in the eyes of the Basutos, reached the position of the schools of the French Mission, which have always kept ahead either numerically or otherwise.

So far as the Anglican Church is concerned, its work also suffered from the after-effects of the general crisis, chiefly from a financial point of view, and had in consequence to face great difficulties at times, especially for its schools. But yet, particularly at Hlotse (Leribe) and at Maseru, the practical education of the young girls developed in an encouraging manner under the management of an exceedingly devoted female staff. Its Normal School at Masite has continued to function modestly, as in the past. The relations between that Church and the French Protestant Mission have continued and remain cordial.

The personnel of the Anglican Church Mission consisted, in 1931,of eleven ministers or priests, of whom four were Natives, with 11 stations, 120 out-stations and schools and about 130 teachers and catechists. The number of pupils in their schools was 6,376. That Mission received then from the government an amount of £4,791 for its schools.

The sketch which we have given of the position of the Roman Catholic Church and of that of the Anglican Church shows clearly that not only is the French Mission of Basutoland not the only one to exercise influence over the Basutos, but also that it is threatened in its predominant position by an opposition which may become disquietening if the Native pastoral vocations do not become more numerous than they have been

during the last years, and if the crisis caused by the meagre enrolment of students in the Theological School is not rapidly overcome, and also if the support of the French-speaking churches were to weaken or perhaps fail in their assistance to the Church of Basutoland and to the Basuto people during the period of increase. Now more than ever do the Basutos need safe pilots to guide into port the vessel tossed about by contrary winds. In that respect, what form of celebration of the Jubilee Centenary would be more moving than that of a general revival of the whole Church !

During that period the Church of Basutoland saw several pastors join its ranks, namely the ministers S. Ntoampe, E. Phakisi, M. Matlanyane and E. Morojele, but it also saw several gaps appear and great changes take place in it, either through deaths or otherwise. The year 1929 witnessed the demise at Koeneng of the pastor Ph. Kheleli, a man of action who always stood firm and for whom the Church had great hopes for the future, and the Native candidate for the ministry, Majara, gave up his studies in order to return to teaching. In 1928 the minister Az. Mohapi was stationed at Peka ; he was succeeded at the Sebapala by the pastor S. Mojakisane. In 1929 N. Mphatsoe took the place of V. Sekhesa at Pitseng, the latter being transferred to Popa, whereas the pastor A. Lefatle left Morija in 1931 to take charge of the Sefikeng parish rendered vacant by the resignation of pastor J. Mofubelu, who retired from the service through illness.

In 1932, that is one year before the Centenary, to provide for the spiritual wants of a population of approximately 570,000, the Church of Basutoland had

36 parishes in the country itself, (including the new post in the Malutis) or 37 if we include the work on the Rand; of these, 26 were in the charge of Native pastors and 11, that is a little less than one third of the total number, under that of European missionaries. Including the heads of the higher schools, the number of European missionaries was then fourteen.

Those 37 parishes were subdivided into 341 out-stations (an increase of eleven on the previous years), with 408 schools, 349 evangelists (catechists) and 846 teachers. The Church numbered 28,960 communicant members (an increase of 239 on the previous year) and 11,633 catechumens (an increase of 1,397), that is a grand total of over 40,000 Chritian adults.

In spite of the very trying times, the contributions of the South African Churches amounted to £5,375 (that is over 650,000 francs at the post war rate). The collection for the work on the Rand amounted to £346 and that for the Central Chest to £352 (a decrease of nearly £200 on the previous year).

From the spiritual point of view, the Church of Basutoland did not show the progress and the enthusiasm which it should have done during that period. Although it realised its duty by accepting to labour among the Basutos on the Rand and showed by an important annual collection its practical interest in that work, it did so rather by virtue of a feeling of responsibility than by a joyful manifestation of vitality. Communicative warmth and intense life from within were wanting during that period. Sometimes the Church seemed even too near the heathen world. It is true that the latter, in a state of disaggregation, was no longer

very conscious of itself, and thus it compromised with Christianity, the principle and even the essence of which it admitted (at least theoretically), while retaining its position. That attitude has sometimes made the exterior delimitation between the Christians and the heathens rather difficult. That is perhaps a sign of the growth of the nation, which at that period of its development was out of its element and refused to remain any longer in the obscurantism of the days of yore, without, however, understanding as yet that it is imperative to go through the narrow gate in order to progress. It was also an ungrateful period for the Church, into which it was necessary to inculcate a profound sense of spiritual realities as well as of their value, so essential for the affirmation of its faith and the safeguarding of its personality.

That state of somnolence and of uncertainty among many, added to the real and serious economic crisis and also to a recrudescence of the drink evil, no doubt explains the serious financial position of the Church of Basutoland at the time with which we are dealing. It was perhaps the first crisis of such prolonged duration from which the Church had suffered, and it affected its very existence. For instance, the Central Chest, which had worked so admirably since its establishment, was in great difficulties during the last years of that period. As a consequence, the salaries of the Native ministers and of the catechists frequently could not be paid except after considerable delays. The zeal and the faithfulness of those servants of God are all the more striking on account of it, and in that respect, in contrast with the economic state of affairs, it is remarkable to note during

those last years, an increase in the number of evangelists, whose number was more encouraging than it had been for many years. It was a symptom worth noting and a promise for the future of the Church. As for the schools of the Mission, they did not cease to progress all that time, particularly in the whole of northern Basutoland, where that increase was marked by the enrolment of 820 new pupils in one year (1931—1932), with a school roll of 10,645 children (1). The average school attendance for the three Missions recognised in Basutoland was 30,005 pupils in 1925. In 1927 it had risen to 34,134 ; in 1929 to 37,275 and in 1931 to 41,366, that is an average increase of 11,361 pupils since 1925.

As for the Mission of Basutoland, in 1931 it had 350 scholars in the higher schools, six of whom were in the Theological School, 40 in the Bible School, 157 in the Normal School and 50 in the Industrial and Technical School at Leloaleng. It also had 67 pupils in the Young Girls' High School at Thabana-Morena and 30 at the Practical and Housecraft School at Cana. (2)

As for the children entered in the registers of the primary schools of the Mission, their total number was 28,209 in 1934 ; seven years later (in 1931) it had reached 39,086, including the non-subsidised schools, (13,329 boys and 25,757 girls) an increase of 2,858 on the previous year.

It is estimated that the number of Basuto children

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(1) Statistics of the Leribe Presbytery.

(2) The Book Depot and the Printing Works continued to develop their precious activity in spite of the hard times. Special mention may be made of the printing by the latter of the Hymn Book of the Church of Basutoland and of the publication at Morija of a new complete edition of that book, revised and augmented, with music.

who are being educated in the schools of the country at present, exceeds 60,000. (1) What a step forward when one thinks of the modest beginning of the Mission of Basutoland !

For the three Missions officially recognised, the Government subsidies amounted to £47,193 in 1931. For the schools of the Church of Basutoland, those subsidies increased during that period from £21,528 in 1924 to £29,520 in 1929 and £31,188 in 1931.

Those figures are striking and it is not to be wondered at that they drew the attention of an observant searcher, Mr. Bull, author of a book on the "Native Problem in Africa", who says, "As for the Basutos, Basutoland seems to have a larger average number of children attending schools than that of any British territory in Europe". (2)

What a fine testimony to the civilising influence of the Government of the Territory and to the spirit of abnegation and sacrifice on the part of all those, no matter of what race, who gave up their lives for the uplifting and the salvation of the nation of the Basutos.

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(1) The actual proportion is ten per cent of the total population.
(2) We include in that number the 6,514 pupils of not yet subsidised schools of the three Missions recognised by the Government.

V

The awakening of the Bantus and the missionary duty

Let us now make a few brief remarks which the present situation in South Africa suggests to us, more especially in regard to what we have termed the awakening of the Bantus. That question has a direct bearing upon the Basuto people and on our Mission, whose interests are inseparable from those of that nation. For indeed, in that respect, the Mission may have to give its work quite a new and wider orientation in the near future.

The reader should bear in mind that South Africa is a vast country, at present in the course of formation or of transformation. After centuries of misery and of wars, the Natives have eventually found peace, as we have seen. They are multiplying and becoming educated, and feel conscious of themselves as a whole, as a race, and thus the clan spirit is giving way to and being succeeded by the national spirit. There is in that a potential force, and it opens up a serious question for the future, not to say *the* question, for the countries with which we are dealing.

The White people, on their side, are organising. For centuries they fought for the possession of the country,

either against the Hottentots, the Bushmen and the Bantus, or among themselves, for they come from different nations, most of them being descendants of Dutch or of English people, while a fair proportion of them, whose ancestors were driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, are of French extraction; there is also a fairly considerable number of German emigrants. The Dutch colonists, who were later termed the Boers (farmers), have always contested the possession of South Africa with the colonists of Anglo-Saxon origin, and that feeling of antagonism has already been the cause of bloody wars.

A remarkable event, to which we have already made reference, took place in 1910, that is the union in one single State of the Colonies and of the Republics, which up to then had not been united, not to say more. That Union of South Africa has been a matter of surprise to some, who have remained sceptical as to its viability and its prospects. But yet, up to now, it has withstood the violence of the elements and even the great temptations of the days of the Great War. Although it is not possible to foresee the future or to predict the transformation some day of the Union into a simple federation, modelled on the United States of America, something quite feasible, yet it is impossible to ignore the persistent efforts of certain Boer elements, numerically very important, to take into their own hands the destiny of a State which is becoming more and more assimilated to their tongue and their ideals. The Union of South Africa is to-day a Dominion, like several others, of the British Crown, but it is a State conscious of itself and which is indefatigably seeking to prepare its own des-

tiny. The daily struggle between the elements of which the Union consists, a struggle really for supremacy, is at this stage of the development of that young country, a fact patent enough to impress the Natives, who are always eager to know what is going on. To-day the Union of South Africa has Commissioners or Commercial Attachés in other countries. For reasons of exchange it has eliminated British coins and it intends to coin its own money based on the metric system, a matter which would bring about a complete change in the systems of book-keeping and in the teaching in vogue in all the schools of South Africa, in that respect. After a sharp controversy, it has decided on having its own flag, the South African flag, without, it is true, officially repudiating the British flag. But yet the Natives among whom are the Basutos, could not but be struck by the vivacity of the arguments used by both sides for and against its adoption. Many of them have read in that a victory for South African nationalism, a blow struck at the sovereignty of the "Queen", that is, of the British Crown, and they have foreseen danger in the future for their small country, in which only the British flag flies and which now appears to them like an islet surrounded on all sides by that great Union in which, to their minds, the prestige of England has suffered a blow. Will the protection of the "Queen" be lessened thereby ? Will it be necessary for them to reckon less on her help in the future, and more on themselves in the event of any conflicts ? And what can they do, surrounded on all sides as they are, without the protection of their "Mother" ?

On the other hand, there is talk in certain high

quarters of abrogating or modifying the laws which made the Natives live more happily in the Union, for instance the law concerning the franchise enjoyed by the Natives in the Cape Province under certain conditions, or the laws concerning the possession of land in the Union, which would not mean progress for the Natives, but the very reverse. We have no desire to judge or to blame anyone; we merely point out certain facts which provide food for reflection. We are endeavouring to show, for instance, how difficult and delicate is the period of the transformation of the various elements of which the population of South Africa is composed.

We do not desire in any way to minimise the gravity for the White people (perhaps even more than for the Blacks) of their position in the land which they have occupied and pacified and which their persevering efforts have made what it is to-day, viz. a great country, which is rising in the community of young nations. There are for the White population certain natural measures of preservation, which are essential not only for itself but also for civilisation as a whole, for if the White race in a country which is "Black", numerically speaking, desires to protect the rights and the acquirements of civilisation integrally and efficaciously, it is essential that it should maintain such on the only level on which they will not be contested to them, that is the highest level.

In order to succeed, it will thus have to be continuously on the alert and always surpass itself. In learning to dominate itself, it will have to cast aside everything which, as is unfortunately the case to-day owing to the divisions and the rivalries which are so frequently wit-

nessed, lowers that ideal in the eyes of those whom it can only lead and rule usefully by setting them an example of the highest moral an spiritual qualities and virtues.

The Basutos and the Black people generally, at least those who think and judge for themselves, have therefore reason to be anxious. Nothing seems to them to be certain or safe, for everything is in a state of elaboration and of transformation, chiefly among the White people themselves. In the same way as their artists, when they knead their pot-clay, mix with it ground debris of broken pottery, in order to turn it into a new vase, so also the Natives fear that the new South Africa in course of formation may be fashioned with the fragments of their autonomy, to their detriment.

It is true that there are written pledges and also the word of England, a word which once given has up to now never been broken, but to-day England seems so far ! It was therefore with feelings of gratitude and relief that in 1931 the Natives learned that in future, in addition to the British High Commissioner in the Union, they would also have a High Commissioner sent by the British Parliament specially in their interests. By that gesture England has drawn nearer to them.

But as the process of evolution proceeds among the White people, the Blacks are not remaining behind ; hence a new and far-reaching difficulty for the Native masses. Chiefly owing to the fact that education has spread everywhere and also to their coming into contact with the cosmopolitan element in Johannesburg, the young people are evolving but too rapidly in the eyes of the generations which preceded them. Customs are

changing ; some of them, considered in the clan life to be the very basis of order, are no longer respected ; the authority of the parents is weakening. The Basuto complain, as we have seen, of the slowness or of the prevarication of their chiefs in the carrying out of justice. Even the system of the occupation of the soil is undergoing a rapid change, and soon possibly, the ground may become the full property of the individual, a matter which of all the revolutionary changes which might come about among the Basutos would probably be the most serious.

Even in regard to the Church, which has safeguarded its people, the Basutos are beginning to hesitate ; there are such divergences in the discipline, for instance, or in the rules of the different persuasions ! Why should they be separated, even sometimes, opposed, since there is only one God and only one Saviour ?

Inside as well as outside of his country, and even in his own heart, the Mosuto therefore feels forces arising, which he fears he may not be able to control and to dominate. Would this then be the proper time to leave him to himself, under pretence that, after a hundred years, he must be able to do away with the guidance of those who themselves have taken several centuries to evolve ?

It is precisely at the time of this crisis, caused by the growth of the nation, that its counsellors must be close at hand, a counsellor who will know how to speak at the proper time — a friend who will also know how to be silent when need be, but who will never be far. Such is the attitude which the French Protestant Mission will adopt during the years which are to come, in order still

to guide both the people which it has created and saved and the Church, the formation of which, however advanced and gratifying it may be, is not yet complete. It will not serve a useful purpose to repeat at this juncture that Basutoland has never ceased to be a ground for mission work, since the number of heathens in that country is still very considerable. In the midst of all the failures and all the grounds for anxiety for the future, we are entitled to hope for great things yet, first of all for the Native Church, which up till now has achieved all that was expected of it, and secondly for the people themselves. In the very crisis which is visiting the Basutos, there are certainly many reasons for encouragement ; there are proofs of more initiative in vital questions, be they political, economic or otherwise, of a desire to depart from routine, to probe for themselves, to verify, to criticise when necessary and to develop what has been acquired ; of keener interest in better methods of cultivating the soil, in the choice of seeds, the use of modern ploughs, in following the advice of demonstrators in agricultural matters, a number of whom the Government has placed at the disposal of the people ; of a real talent for observation and description, which reveals itself in the literary domain and even a sign of lyrical poetry, of which we have an example in Bereng's *Lithothokiso* (praises). In the field of practical work (pottery or ceramic, for instance), there is also a real awakening and some of the vases, human statuettes or animal figures reveal more than simple artistic inclinations. And even the humble little shepherd busies himself, while grazing his flock,

in plaiting a hat with pieces of straw or knitting a cap or even a vest with the wool of his sheep.

It is necessary to canalise, to concentrate and to specialise all these tendencies which gradually come to light (and we have not mentioned all) in order to enable them to develop and to bear fruit; and what has been done with success elsewhere for other people must also be done for the Native of South Africa.

Now that the Basutos have become one people, it is quite possible that, if they can keep their national existence proper, and if they allow themselves to be guided as in the past, they may yet be called upon some day to play a role of the first magnitude in the formation of the Bantu nation which is making its appearance at the horizon. If that moment comes, will it then be for the good or to the detriment of the community, for its progress or for its ruin? "Pride goeth before destruction", says the Scripture, but God raises those who remain humble and who are satisfied to progress within the limits of discipline and of dignity.

And the only true discipline within us is that which is freely imposed by a conscience which is continually renewed by contact with the divine, and true dignity is that possessed by one who has realised at what price it has been acquired for him.

CONCLUSION

The Mission and the Church of Basutoland cannot but bless God for the past and for those hundred years of creative work in South Africa. What a privilege and what a subject for gratitude for our French-speaking Protestant Churches also, which have been able to guide that work with such perseverance and with such success up till now ! (1)

May our churches not slacken their efforts at this critical time, so that, with a view to the salvation of the Basutos, they may still protect, during whatever period it may be necessary, the people which they have saved, and guide them towards their ultimate destiny through the means of a Native Church, growing increasingly in strength and becoming more conscious of its responsibilities.

Under such guidance, the Church of Basutoland on its part, will strive to foresee and to hasten the day of its autonomy by the means which are now at its disposal, and also by leaning towards the sister churches which surround it and by endeavouring to secure its future

(1) The apostolic effort of our Churches is such (since the proportion among them is one missionary to 13 pastors) that at the present time it has probably only been surpassed by that of the Church of the Unity of the Brethren (Moravians).

by a closer contact with them, thus succeeding some day, perhaps, in forming a federation of the South African Bantu Evangelical Churches.

When Samuel desired to acknowledge the deliverances of which the people of Israel had been the object and to perpetuate the remembrance of God's blessings by the erection of a memorial, "he took a stone", we are told, "and set it between Mizpah and Shen and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying : Hitherto hath the Lord helped us" !

We have also desired here, in all humility, to raise this memorial stone to the glory of God in joy and with infinite gratitude — "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us" !

May He use the Jubilee Centenary as a point of departure for still higher spiritual destinies and make of the Basutos a people "blessed, and thereby a blessing to others.""

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THIRD PERIOD.

The Church of Basutoland.

(1883—1914)

FOURTH PERIOD.

The Church of Basutoland and the evolution of South Africa.

(1914—1933)

Date Due

Due	Returned	Due	Returned
JUN 0 3 1990	APR 1 3 1990		
	APR 1 8 1990		
NOV 1 2 1991			
[illegible]			
FEB 2 9 1992			
APR 2 7 1992			
JUN 2 9 1992			
[illegible] 2 4 1992			
OCT 1 8 1992			
[illegible] 1 4 [illegible]			
FEB 0 3 [illegible]			
APR 0 7 1993			
JUN 0 3 [illegible]			
JUL 3 1 1993			
[illegible] 6 1993	AUG 1 3 1993		

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